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ABSTRACT

This volume presents 11 selected papers from the 14th annual conference of Teacher Educators for Children with Behavioral Disorders, held in Tempe, Arizona in November 1990. The keynote paper, by James M. Kauffman, is titled "Purposeful Ambiguity: Its Value in Defining Emotional or Behavioral Disorders." The next five papers address programming for students with emotional or behavioral disorders. They are: "REI: What the Regular Educators Are Saying" (Jane F. Carter); "Strategies for Integrating Students with Behavioral Disorders into General Education" (Robert A. Gable et al.); "Learning Time in Special Education Placement Alternatives" (H. Lyndall Rich); "Aggressive Children: A School-Based Kindergarten Program" (Carolyn Lennox et al.); "Tourette Students in the Classroom: Overcoming Educational Obstacles" (Donnajean Mandler-Provin and Robert N. Jones). The remaining five papers address social skills and social competence. Titles and authors are: "Social Competency, Mainstreaming, and Children with Serious Behavioral Disorders" (Nancy B. Meadows); "Identification of Critical Social Skills and Social Competence for Children with Behavioral Disorders" (Kristine J. Melloy); "The Social Ecology of Adolescents Receiving Special Education Services: School and Interpersonal Contexts" (Edison J. Tricket et al.); "Understanding and Defusing the Streetcorner Behaviors of Urban Black Socially Maladjusted Youth" (Thomas McIntyre); and "Ethics Instruction: A Model for Advancing Social Competence of Youth with Emotional and Learning Problems" (Pamela F. Miller and Sidney R. Miller). References accompany each paper. (DB)

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## COUNCIL FOR CHILDREN WITH BEHAVIORAL DISORDERS

The Council for Children with Behavioral Disorders is a national professional organization for those interested in the education and well-being of individuals with emotional/behavioral disorders. The Council functions to develop lines of communication and interaction among professionals, disciplines, and organizations; to promote adequate programs for recruitment, training, and consultation; to encourage research and development; to support legislation for services to these children. Toward this end, the Council publishes a quarterly journal, *Behavioral Disorders*, and sponsors national conferences in relation to these interests. An organization of some 8,900 members, the Council maintains central offices at 1920 Association Drive, Reston, Virginia 22091.

*Monographs in Behavioral Disorders* is a special publication issued by the Council for Children with Behavioral Disorders to augment the organization's quarterly journal, *Behavioral Disorders*. The *Monograph* is designed to treat topics in an intensive, highly-focused manner not usually appropriate for standard journal presentation.

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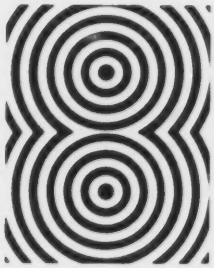

# Severe Behavior Disorders of Children and Youth

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# Contents


**PREFACE** v

**KEYNOTE PAPER**

Purposeful Ambiguity: Its Value in Defining Emotional or Behavioral Disorders 1
James M. Kauffman

**PROGRAMING FOR STUDENTS WITH EMOTIONAL OR BEHAVIORAL DISORDERS**

REI: What the Regular Educators Are Saying 11
Jane F. Carter

Strategies for Integrating Students with Behavioral Disorders into General Education 18
Robert A. Gable, Jo M. Hendrickson, and Robert B. Rutherford, Jr.

Learning Time in Special Education Placement Alternatives 33
H. Lyndall Rich

Aggressive Children: A School-Based Kindergarten Program 42
Carolyn Lennox, Howell Gotlieb, Reena Kronitz, Joan Hart, Michael Allan, and Elizabeth Read

Tourette Students in the Classroom: Overcoming Educational Obstacles 52
Donnajean Mandler-Provin and Robert N. Jones

**SOCIAL SKILLS AND SOCIAL COMPETENCE**

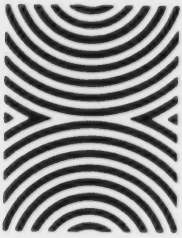
Social Competency, Mainstreaming, and Children with Serious Behavioral Disorders 61
Nancy B. Meadows

Identification of Critical Social Skills and Social Competence for Children with Behavioral Disorders 67
Kristine J. Melloy

The Social Ecology of Adolescents Receiving Special Education Services: School and Interpersonal Contexts 76
Edison J. Trickett, Kathleen D. Schmid, and Peter E. Leone

Understanding and Defusing the Streetcorner Behaviors of Urban Black Socially Maladjusted Youth 85
Thomas McIntyre

Ethics Instruction: A Model for Advancing the Social Competence of Youth with Emotional and Learning Problems 98
Pamela F. Miller and Sidney R. Miller



# Preface

Volume 14 of the *Severe Behavior Disorders of Children and Youth* monograph series represents selected papers presented at the fourteenth annual conference of Teacher Educators for Children with Behavioral Disorders held in Tempe, Arizona in November 1990.

James M. Kauffman, the CCBD President, was the keynote speaker at this conference and his paper, Purposeful Ambiguity: Its Value in Defining Emotional or Behavioral Disorders, poses some interesting questions with regard to defining the population of students we serve. This article sets the stage for the remaining articles in the monograph. These articles focus on two themes: Programing for Students with Emotional or Behavioral Disorders, and Social Skills and Social Competence.

We wish to acknowledge the Executive Committee of the Council for Children with Behavioral Disorders and the Consulting Editors of the *Behavioral Disorders* journal for their support and assistance in producing this monograph series.

Robert B. Rutherford, Jr.
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# Purposeful Ambiguity: Its Value in Defining Emotional or Behavioral Disorders

James M. Kauffman

One of the things for which we've been working for many years is a new federal definition of the children and youth we serve. We've been working for a new one because the current one is too vague and open to misinterpretation (Huntze, 1985). Finally it looks as though we stand a fair chance of achieving a broad consensus among professionals on a new draft definition, and with luck, we could see a new definition written into federal legislation within the next year or so.

Now, I really like the proposed definition (Forness & Knitzer, 1990). I think it is a vast improvement over the current one, and I intend to do everything I can to see that it is adopted. But as I read the new definition, I note that it leaves a lot of room for interpretation. There's still going to be a good deal of ambiguity in how it's applied to students. We're still going to have people arguing over the meaning of specific words and phrases in the definition and how these apply to individual cases. So I guess we'd better be prepared to live with some doubts and uncertainties, even if we're fortunate enough to see the new definition written into law and regulations. I can see why ambiguity makes people uncomfortable, but I think the matter is something we ought to consider a little more carefully.

I've talked about ambiguity before, mainly to say that I think the fact that we have so much difficulty with it is a sign of our adolescence or immaturity as a field (Kauffman, 1984). Adolescents typically don't deal well with ambiguity. Neither do many adults, but adolescents seem particularly likely not to understand the value of maintaining some ambiguity in human affairs. To the extent that we want things and people to be all good or all bad, I think we take an adolescent's perspective. Besides, there's a certain amount of guilt that goes with doubt, and we just don't want to deal with any more doubt and guilt than we already have. We want to be able to say in the areas of our lives that are of greatest concern to us that, yes, we know for sure what we should do, what is right, what is wrong, what should be allowed, and what should not be allowed.

It's not just special educators who have a lot of trouble with ambiguity and want a security blanket of certainty. In American society, lots of people are looking for certainties. We see signs of this in several areas of our society today:

- It is an almost certain kiss of death for a candidate for public office to say about an issue, "Well, that presents a real dilemma, and I just don't know. There is no good, simple answer."
- Those who take a radical position in the matter of right to life want to erase any doubt whatsoever about when life begins, when it's meaningful, and when its okay to terminate it.

- Those who take a radical position on the issue of the right to keep and bear arms want to maintain their right to collect and carry and use guns, and they hold out against all possible infringements of what they see as an absolute right.
- Those who believe they know immorality when they see it want no uncertainty to exist in the definition of obscenity.

This matter of obscenity points up the difficult problem of ambiguity in making social judgments. Probably none of us would argue that there is no such thing as obscenity, that is, we'd probably all agree that there is such a thing but we vary greatly in how we'd define it. Consider this: Which is obscene — an exhibit of homoerotic photos by Robert Maplethorpe, or Jesse Helms's election to the U.S. Senate? My point here is that a substantial number of people believe they know exactly what's obscene and what isn't and would like to get their definition of the obscene enacted in unambiguous legislation.

In special education, we have particular trouble with certainty and ambiguity in several areas:

- Educability: Some advocates for children with disabilities want to see no ambiguity whatsoever in Public Law 94-142 or its interpretation; *all* handicapped children, they claim, are entitled to education. Their view is that whether a child is conscious or not — indeed, whether a child has a cerebral cortex or not — are irrelevant considerations.
- LRE: Radical reformers want to leave no room for interpretation of *least restrictive*. In fact, they argue that the very concept of LRE is undesirable because it is ambiguous, and such ambiguity inevitably results in some children being placed in other than regular public school classes.
- Calls for the abolition of special education categories: Some argue that there is too much ambiguity in our definitions, and consequently, too many errors in our eligibility decisions and classification of children.

So, is ambiguity actually okay? Or is it really bad stuff? Well, that all depends, I guess. I suppose it depends on some particulars — our purposes, the specific problems with which we're dealing, and what we know about how to resolve them, for example. Sometimes, I suppose, it's a pretty good idea to eliminate as much doubt as we can. There probably is a place for certainties in our profession. But we also need to understand that ambiguity may have a positive and critical role to play in our analysis of problems, the rules and regulations that govern our work, even the very definition of the kids we serve and the services we provide. In other words, ambiguity plays a somewhat ambiguous role in enabling us to accomplish what it is I think we ought to be doing.

There seem to be two primary ways that ambiguity enters the picture for special education or any other social program: (a) construction of laws and rules or regulations, and (b) interpretation of these laws and regulations. First, we need to ask whether we should try to construct laws and rules that admit only one interpretation, or alternatively, purposely leave some ambiguity in them. Second, we need to ask whether we should interpret laws and rules as strictly or literally as possible, or on the other hand, take their purpose or intent, not just their letter, into consideration.

You've undoubtedly figured out that we're dealing with legal concepts here and that this discussion inevitably must turn to legislation and litigation and lawyers and judges. Of course, most of us have ambivalent feelings about most members of the legal profession and many of the laws by which we live. But

perhaps we haven't considered in enough detail the role of ambivalence and ambiguity in making and interpreting laws and regulations. Let's review a case from a law text (Statsky, 1984), one in which ambiguity — or lack of it — played a major role.

The case involves F. Drew Caminetti, a man who had risen to prominence in Sacramento, California when he ran afoul of the law in 1913. In 1913, Drew Caminetti was married and the father of one child. Although married, he started going out with Lola Norris, a single woman who lived with her parents. The two of them, Drew and Lola, took long rides in Drew's car and spent nights together in hotels, falsely registering as husband and wife.

Soon their relationship was a major scandal in the Sacramento community. A local newspaper ran a story on their shameless affair. Drew panicked and decided to leave the state with Lola. He bought tickets to Reno on the Southern Pacific Railroad. He and Lola planned to live together in Reno. On the way to Reno, Drew and Lola occupied the same bed in the pullman car. In Reno, they rented a cottage, again falsely claiming to be husband and wife. Several days later, Drew was arrested on the charge of violating the White Slave Traffic Act, a criminal statue enacted by the U.S. Congress. The indictment against Caminetti read that he:

> did willfully, unlawfully, and feloniously knowingly persuade, induce, and entice, and cause to be persuaded, induced, and enticed, and aid and assist in persuading, inducing, and enticing, Lola Norris to go from the city of Sacramento, California to Reno, Nevada in interstate commerce over the line of the railroad of the Southern Pacific Company, a common carrier of passengers between the points named, for the purpose of debauchery and for an immoral purpose, to wit, that she, the Lola Norris, should be and become the concubine and mistress of the said defendant. (Statsky, 1984, p. 2)

Caminetti's criminal trial in California was a huge deal, with the prosecutor telling the jury that the eyes of 60 million or 90 million people were awaiting their verdict. He said,

> Gentlemen, if there is any depraved man in the world . . . it is that man who seduces an innocent girl and exposes her shame to the world . . . . [T]he government demands that the laws enacted for the protection and preservation of its young and decent women be adequately and rigorously enforced. An acquittal in this case would be a miscarriage of justice, and it would be a blot upon the fair name and escutcheon of California. (Statsky, 1984, p. 2)

So, what was this White Slave Traffic Act — the criminal statue Caminetti was charge with violating? The act read as follows:

> That any person who shall knowingly transport or cause to be transported . . . in interstate or foreign commerce . . . any woman or girl for the purpose of prostitution or debauchery, or for any other immoral purpose . . . shall be deemed guilty of a felony, and upon conviction thereof shall be punished by a fine not exceeding $5,000 or by imprisonment for not more than 5 years or by both. (Statsky, 1984, p. 2)

One question we might ask is, should Caminetti be convicted under this statue? Nobody claimed he took Lola across state lines to engage in prostitution. But who could doubt that he had an immoral purpose in taking her to Reno? After

all, he was a married man sleeping with a woman who was not his wife, he had lied about his relationship to Lola, and he had engaged in these activities before, during, and after his ride in the pullman car of the Southern Pacific Line that took him with his lover — or concubine — across state lines. In the opinion of many, the statue was clear. The plain meaning of the Congress in enacting the law was evident. The jury found Caminetti guilty, and he received a sentence of 2 years' imprisonment and a fine of $2,000. A U.S. appeals court affirmed his conviction, as did the U.S. Supreme Court in 1917.

How in the world did Drew Caminetti engage in behavior that was punishable under the White Slave Traffic Act? He certainly wasn't running a white slave trade. Nobody argued that he was making money on his relationship with Lola. Yet to some, the language of the act was unambiguous — Drew Caminetti had violated the act by engaging in debauchery and immoral behavior and by taking a woman engaging in such behavior and for the purpose of engaging in such behavior across state lines. The three courts involved in the Caminetti case used the *plain meaning rule*, which the U.S. Supreme Court described in affirming his conviction as follows:

> Where the language is plain and admits of no more than one meaning, the duty of interpretation does not arise, and the rules which are said to aid doubtful meanings need no discussion. There is no ambiguity in the terms of this act. (Statsky, 1984, p. 3)

But, really, how clear was the act? Did it really cover *any* debauchery (extreme indulgence in sensual pleasure) or *any* immoral purpose; or did it apply only to any *commercialized* debauchery or immoral purpose? Nobody involved in the case questioned whether Caminetti's conduct was immoral, but the defense argued that he should not be convicted because he was certainly not engaged in *commercialized* debauchery or immorality. In fact, the legislative history of the White Slave Traffic Act suggests that the Congress of the U.S. did *not* intend to aid the states in using their police powers to suppress or regulate immorality in general. But, still, Caminetti lost his case because the courts chose to use the plain meaning rule.

Today, I suspect most of us believe that the Caminetti case represented a miscarriage of justice — although I suppose many fans of Jerry Falwell or Pat Robertson might believe otherwise and might, in fact, applaud the courts that found Drew guilty as charged. Today, 73 years after the Supreme Court decision in *Caminetti*, the courts are apparently less likely than in 1917 to rely on the plain meaning rule and more likely to interpret the intent as well as the plain meaning of the law.

Yet courts can't say just anything they want. They can't simply write or rewrite law to suit their purposes — or at least they're not supposed to. They are only to interpret law. Only when judges detect ambiguity in statutes do they have anything to interpret or any law to write. But when do judges detect ambiguity, when are they writing law, and when are they merely interpreting law? How much latitude should they be allowed in interpreting meanings? The answer to this question is, of course, ambiguous. And managing that ambiguity is apparently essential to the preservation of a society governed by laws.

Consider another case involving legal interpretation. Suppose a state statute reads as follows: "All children of deceased employees of the state shall be entitled to receive maintenance benefits from the state" (Statsky, 1984, p. 9). Now, suppose that an adult descendant who moved out of a deceased state employ-

ee's home years ago claims benefits under this statute. The state agency administering survivor benefits denies the claim, arguing that he was not dependent on the deceased immediately before death. Clearly, the law says *all children* and doesn't mention or even hint at any requirement of dependency. How could a court justify finding in favor of the state agency, upholding denial of the claim? Apparently, the argument would have to be very carefully worded. The court could not merely point out the foolishness — the patent folly — of allowing nondependent children to receive maintenance benefits because that would soon exhaust state funds. No, it is not the function of a court to determine whether a statute represents wise or stupid public policy (Statsky, 1984). The court would have to interpret the meaning or intent of the legislature in enacting the law, holding that the people who wrote the law could not have intended to provide maintenance benefits for nondependent children because they would not have intended to bankrupt the state.

But how does one interpret legislative intent? As someone has said, there are two things no American should see being made: sausages and laws. Both acts — making wieners and making laws — are by all accounts pretty disgusting to watch. The fact is that laws are often passed in a crisis atmosphere and few legislators have the time, interest, or expertise to read and understanding everything for which they're voting, much less the situations that will arise under a given statute that is enacted. What gets voted into law is often a matter of who owes whom a favor. So is the intent of a law to be found in a committee report or the testimony of sponsors of the bill? In the absence of very clear evidence of intent to the contrary, courts appear to be likely to revert to the plain meaning rule, to stick with the plain or literal meaning of the law. So, if laws are not carefully written, if they are either too general or too specific in their wording, miscarriages of justice are likely. Ask yourself questions such as these: What did most of the legislators who passed the Education of the Handicapped Act believe was the distinction, if any, between social maladjustment and emotional disturbance? How would you know? Did most of the members of Congress and the President who signed it believe that PL 94-142 would require special education for a child who is in a state of permanent unconsciousness, that is, for a child without a functioning cerebral cortex?

As many legal scholars have pointed out, laws and regulations ought to be drafted with great care, but they seldom are. Laws are merely words, and language is a troublesome and clumsy tool — although it's the best we have — for constructing a system of justice. Words have inherent in them an imprecision that makes it possible for us to construct a society that is a breeding ground for lawyers. Thanks to the way we've managed our social conflicts in this country, American society today isn't so much dog-eat-dog as it is weasel-trap-weasel. Language is never completely satisfactory as a vehicle for communication. All the more reason to be very careful with it. Let our language get too vague and we've got problems; but let it get too specific and we've got other problems. And even when we think we've got it just right, we're likely to be partly wrong because nobody can anticipate all the situations that will arise under a given statute or regulation. So trying to achieve social justice through legislation, litigation, rule-making, definitions, and the like really is a Sisyphean task — if we are committed to achieving social justice in a society of laws, then we are doomed to lifetimes of effort to achieve a clarity and perfection in law and its interpretation that are impossible. This may sound pessimistic, but I think it is

simply a fact to be taken the same way we respond to the reality that we're all getting closer to our death, moment by moment. We needn't be preoccupied with the facts of the case or let them detract unduly from our enjoyment of life or the satisfaction we get from making small improvements in laws and regulations.

How might this apply to special education? Consider two cases, one in which federal regulation is hopelessly vague and self-contradictory in its language, promoting meaningless distinctions among children, the other a case in which federal law is absurdly inclusive, in this case preventing rational distinctions among children. You've guessed, I'm sure, that I'm referring in the first case to the hopeless vagueness and self-contradiction of the current federal definition of seriously emotionally disturbed. We are all aware of the way the social maladjustment clause can be and has been used to exclude the very children that other parts of the definition say are in need of special education. The new definition won't solve all our problems or remove all ambiguity, but I think we'll be making a significant improvement if we can get the Congress to adopt it. School systems will still be able to exclude some of the kids they don't want to serve, and they'll still be able to classify some who shouldn't be labeled, but it will be a little more difficult to use the definition as an excuse for these mistakes. At least the new definition uses terminology that seems less stigmatizing, sets out criteria that are probably more easily operationalized, and it isn't self-contradictory.

It occurs to me, too, that we want to preserve some ambiguity — some purposeful ambiguity — in our definition. I try to play out in my mind the consequences of a definition that consists of quantitative measures, one that is far more precise and less ambiguous than the one being proposed, and I don't like what I anticipate. Think about it. Would we really prefer the problems that go with a strict psychometric definition? I personally don't think so. If we can learn anything from our experience with mental retardation and learning disability it is that strict psychometric criteria are inadequate for definition. Test scores and normative values may be helpful, but the idea that they should be the ultimate criteria against which everything else is judged is as mindless as the notion that we should abandon them altogether.

The second case of problem language in the law involves too little ambiguity. Consider how the language of another part of PL 94-142 is absurd in its specificity and inclusiveness, in its total absence of ambiguity. You may know of a recent court case in New Hampshire involving a child named Timothy in which a parent requested special education for a child who had no working cerebral cortex, who functioned at a brain stem level (*Timothy W. v. Rochester, NH School District*, 1988). Consider also other potential cases in which the child is unconscious or simply has no cerebral cortex, not even a nonfunctional one. (Please keep in mind also that as far as scientists know, absolutely no purposeful or planful or self-enhancing behavior is possible without a functioning cerebral cortex, although admittedly life at some level and reflexive behavior are possible to sustain indefinitely.) Because the language of PL 94-142 is completely unambiguous in requiring special education for *all* handicapped children *regardless of the nature or severity of their handicap*, the plain meaning rule allows no exceptions whatsoever. Common law — that is, legal tradition or convention — may suggest that death is not a disability covered by PL 94-142, but absolutely no exclusions for nature or severity of disability are allowed by statu-

tory law, regardless of the implications for education. In my opinion, this is a case in which law has been badly written because it is too narrow in its language, leading to manifestly absurd decisions to require attempts to educate children who simply have no means whatsoever — and never will — of responding to any program that I would consider educational, regardless of the faith and hopes of their teachers. Still, it occurs to me that we wouldn't want to go too far in loosening up the requirement of special education for severely handicapped children or see the courts define education too narrowly. We could end up with too much ambiguity, allowing school systems to exclude children of very limited ability who, nevertheless, could profit from education. (And besides, who am I to say what is educational and what is not?)

The value of ambiguity in special education isn't something I've discovered. More than 10 years ago, Sarason and Doris (1979) put it this way:

> Legislation is often a strange mixture of inkblot and unambiguous statements about intent, consequences, time tables, payments, and punishments. PL 94-142 is no exception. Far from being a criticism of this law, our characterization is intended to suggest that there is sometimes wisdom in the ambiguities. (p. 368).

If there is sometimes wisdom in ambiguities, it is also the case that there is sometimes foolishness in them. I guess what we always need to ponder is this question: Which ambiguity is wise and which is foolish? In most cases, I suppose, only a fool would give an unambiguous answer.

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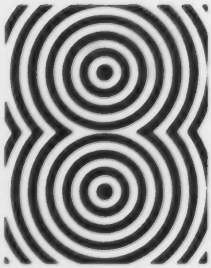

# Programing for Students with Emotional or Behavioral Disorders

# REI: What the Regular Educators Are Saying

Jane F. Carter

**ABSTRACT**

*The Regular Education Initiative (REI) has been the focus of much discussion and debate in educational literature. The REI has been described in various forms including the elimination of special education in favor of the restructuring of general education classrooms to accommodate handicapped students. Central to the REI models presented in most of the current literature is the expanded role of the general education teacher. However, literature on the opinions of general education teachers regarding their role in the REI is lacking. A 13-item survey was developed and distributed to secondary and elementary general education teachers. Results indicate general educators support pull-out services for handicapped students, report increased workloads when handicapped students are in their classes, and are uncertain of their ability to plan and deliver instruction to special needs children. Implications for behaviorally disordered students are also drawn.*

It is difficult to identify a topic that has been the focus of as much debate and discussion as the Regular Education Initiative (REI). Will (1986) first hinted about the REI movement as a "commitment . . . [to] serve as many children as possible in the regular classroom by encouraging a partnership with regular education" (p. 20). Since then, numerous articles and even entire journals have been written attempting to clarify and define REI. However, it is clear that the REI of the 1990s is not a discrete concept or service delivery model but is best represented as a continuum of thought. The diversity of opinions is represented by authors such as Stainback and Stainback (1984) who suggest sweeping changes which would eliminate totally the labeling of students as normal or handicapped and describing the current system as unnecessary and expensive, while others have attempted to characterize the REI in light of specific handicapping conditions. For example, Hagerty and Abramson (1987) oppose the removal of mildly handicapped students from the mainstream, while Brown et al. (1989) oppose removal of even those children with the most severe intellectual disabilities from the regular education classroom. Other authors interpret the REI as the elimination of a separate system for special needs students in favor of modifying the general education classroom to make it more "flexible, supple, and responsive" (Lipsky & Gartner, 1987, p. 72) to the full range of students.

All of the changes implied by proponents of the REI impact significantly the general education setting, specifically the general education teacher. However, a response from general education is conspicuously absent from the REI discussion. Whatever interpretation or expression is given to the REI movement, general educators are involved either explicitly or implicitly. For example, Jenkins, Pious, and Jewell (1990) suggest that in the context of REI, the general

education teacher will be responsible for educating all students assigned to her/his classroom which would include coordinating and managing all special services. In the past, the general educator's involvement with special education students was often limited by special education service models which pulled-out students from general education settings.

Special education practices of the 1970s and 1980s implied that specialists were to have primary responsibility for educating handicapped children. The REI represents a significant shift in the role of the general education teacher whose responsibility in the past was often limited to the triggering of the refer-and-remove process. Proponents of the REI suggest general educators accept primary responsibility for instruction of handicapped students. However, the general educators' degree of willingness to assume new roles and responsibilities as a result of the REI is largely unknown (Jenkins et al., 1990). Therefore, the purpose of this study was to obtain opinions from general educators regarding their perceptions of the REI and the potential shift in responsibilities implied by the REI.

## METHOD

Drawing from a thorough review of current literature regarding the REI, a 13-item Likert-type survey was developed by the author and subjected to formative review at a regional educational conference in the summer of 1989. Following the field testing and subsequent revisions, three school districts in Oregon agreed to participate in the study. The participating districts were located in rural and suburban communities in Oregon (see Table 1).

**TABLE 1**

*Participating Districts Information*

| District | Number of Schools Surveyed | District Enrollment | Number of Participants |
|---|---|---|---|
| District A | | | |
| Elementary | 1 | 558 | 18 |
| Secondary | 2 | 567 | 24 |
| Total | | 1125 | 42 |
| District B | | | |
| Elementary | 1 | 710 | 9 |
| Secondary | 2 | 384 | 15 |
| Total | | 1094 | 24 |
| District C | | | |
| Elementary | 8 | 1978 | 58 |
| Secondary | 3 | 1829 | 45 |
| Total | | 3807 | 103 |

The surveys were distributed to general-education certified staff members at each school by the building administrator at a regularly scheduled staff meeting. Teachers returned the completed questionnaires to their administrator who mailed them to the author. Surveys were completed between November 1989 and March 1990. The sample included general- education certified elementary and secondary teachers.

## RESULTS

Of the 245 surveys sent to potential respondents, 169 surveys were returned for a return rate of 69%. Some respondents did not answer all items; therefore, the number of responses per item varies from 151 to 169. The survey asked teachers to record their knowledge of REI, their satisfaction with special services, the wisdom of elimination of special education, and their perception of their ability to serve special needs children. A scale of 1 to 5 with 1 meaning strong disagreement and 5 meaning strong agreement was used. Complete results are presented in Table 2.

Five items (1, 2, 3, 5, and 7) asked teachers about reducing or eliminating special education services. Results of item 5 indicate that labeling students or programs as "special' is acceptable by more than one-half (57%) of the respondents. There was even stronger support for maintaining separate systems (64% did not feel regular and special education should be merged). Responses were more mixed when asked whether regular education could be "special" for all children (35% disagreed and 49% agreed).

When asked to estimate the proportion of students who should be pulled-out of regular education for special education services, 41% indicated that only one-quarter or none should be pulled-out and 47% indicated between three-quarters or all students should be pulled-out. Of the responding teachers, 70% reported that one-quarter or fewer students identified as handicapped should be served full time in the regular education classroom (item 2).

Items 4 and 11 related to teachers' opinions about instructional impact of handicapped students in their classrooms. Results of item 4 indicate that nearly two-thirds (57%) of the responding teachers did not feel capable of planning and delivering instruction to handicapped children in their regular education classroom. Of the respondents, 92% reported that having handicapped students in their classroom represented additional work for them. The respondents were uncertain about the effect of handicapped children on other students in their class (item 10) with 60% reporting either neutral or negative impact.

Four items (6, 8, 9, and 12) asked teachers to indicate their satisfaction with current special education services in their schools. The majority of responding teachers (85%) agreed that special education programs in their buildings were effective. Of the teachers responding to item 8, 86% advocated additional services for at-risk students, but were less supportive of additional services for special education students (item 9). Finally, 94% of the responding teachers felt that the needs of handicapped students could not be met without special education programs (item 12).

The last item on the questionnaire asked teachers whether they had heard of the Regular Education Initiative (REI). Two-thirds (66%) of the teachers had some knowledge of REI and 34% reported none.

## DISCUSSION

Results of this survey should be examined in light of its limitations, particularly the small, nonrandomized, and limited geography of the sample. Because the instrument was administered only once, stability of the responses over time is also unknown.

Proponents of the REI suggest that the general education teacher should assume primary responsibility for instruction and coordination of educational services for all students in their classes. However, results indicated that general

**TABLE 2**

*Responses to REI Teacher Survey by Item*

| Item | 100% | 75% | 50% | 25% | 0% | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Approximately what percentage of special education students should be pulled-out of regular education classrooms for their education services? | 24% (38) | 25% (39) | 11% (17) | 3% (5) | 4% (6) | (158) |
| 2. Approximately what percentage of students now identified as handicapped would be served best full-time in regular education classes? | 3% (5) | 11% (16) | 16% (24) | 41% (62) | 29% (44) | (151) |
| | **Strongly Disagree** | **Disagree** | **Neutral** | **Agree** | **Strongly Agree** | **Total** |
| 3. I feel that regular education can be "special" for ALL children. | 10% (16) | 25% (40) | 17% (27) | 37% (60) | 12% (19) | (162) |
| 4. As a regular education teacher, I feel I am capable of planning and delivering instruction to handicapped students in my classroom. | 23% (37) | 34% (55) | 13% (21) | 26% (43) | 5% (8) | (164) |
| 5. I feel that no program, teacher, or student should be labeled as "special". | 19% (32) | 38% (65) | 27% (46) | 9% (16) | 6% (10) | (169) |
| 6. Special education programs in my | 0.5% | 7% | 8% | 46% | 39% | |

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | school provide effective educational services for our special education students. | (1) | (11) | (14) | (77) | (66) | (169) |
| 7. | I feel that special education services should be merged into one system with one budget. | 28% (48) | 36% (60) | 25% (43) | 9% (15) | 2% (3) | (169) |
| 8. | We should have the same kinds of services available for "at-risk" students as are available for students with handicaps. | 3% (5) | 5% (9) | 6% (10) | 49% (82) | 37% (63) | (169) |
| 9. | We should offer students with handicaps more special education programs than are currently available. | 4% (6) | 21% (35) | 33% (56) | 33% (56) | 9% (16) | (169) |
| 10. | Having students with handicaps in my classroom has a positive effect on other students. | 4% (7) | 20% (33) | 36% (60) | 35% (59) | 5% (8) | (167) |
| 11. | Having students with handicaps in my classroom is more work for me. | 0.6% (1) | 0.6% (1) | 6% (10) | 54% (91) | 38% (64) | (167) |
| 12. | Without special education programs, we could not meet the needs of all students with handicaps in our building. | 1% (2) | 0.6% (1) | 4% (6) | 31% (52) | 63% (106) | (167) |
| | | **Yes** | **No** | **Total** | | | |
| 13. | I have heard about and know about the Regular Education Initiative (REI). | 34% (57) | 66% (109) | (166) | | | |

education teachers have learned well the lessons of the last two decades of special education. Teachers in this survey report special education as being both effective and the most appropriate place for educating the majority of handicapped students. General education teachers surveyed here did not support a merger of general and special education.

These teachers reported that having handicapped students in their classes would result in more work for them. Significantly, two-thirds of the teachers were unsure of their abilities to respond to the handicapped child's instructional needs. It may be that if teachers were uncertain of their ability to instruct handicapped children, they would likely be less able to implement highly technical and complex behavior interventions necessary to promote behavior change in emotionally disturbed children. Further, teachers were unsure as to the positive effect of having handicapped students in their classes. These results suggest that general educators may be both unprepared and unwilling to assume the role implied by some proponents of REI.

Responses indicate that general education teachers do not agree that all handicapped students should be served full time in their classrooms. These teachers already feel the impact of additional work handicapped students place on them in the present system and may be unsupportive of a system that expects them to do even more. General educators may be opposed to assuming expanded responsibilities implied by the REI.

Historically, behaviorally disordered students are more likely to be placed in self-contained or more restrictive educational settings due to their antisocial, disruptive behavior (Nelson & Rutherford, 1990). Literature suggests that teachers have low tolerance for the unsettling, externalizing behaviors typical of many behaviorally disordered students, and as a result, behaviorally disordered students are often targeted by teachers for removal to special education settings through the referral process (Walker & Bullis, in press). The results of this survey indicate support for special education by general educators and a reluctance to support total integration of handicapped students into regular education classrooms. Respondents also perceived an increase in their workloads as a result of handicapped students. These already stressed educators will require substantial increase in support and assistance levels in order to implement the kinds of behavioral interventions necessary to assist behaviorally disordered students in general education settings.

Undeniably, the general educator is integral to the successful implementation of any expression of the REI and educational systems should not assume their support. Rather, educational systems wishing to implement changes implied by the REI must endeavor to systematically educate, train, and support general education teachers as they expand their role in the education of special needs children.

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# Strategies for Integrating Students with Behavioral Disorders into General Education

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In growing numbers, exceptional learners are receiving at least a portion of their instruction alongside nonhandicapped classmates. Figures show that the majority of the schoolaged handicapped population is now being served in mainstream settings (*Eleventh Annual Report to Congress on Education of the Handicapped*, 1989). Many students with mild handicaps previously subjected to the "refer-and-remove" practices of public schools are being retained successfully in regular classrooms through prereferral (e.g., Chalfant, Pysh, & Moultrie, 1979; Graden, Casey, & Christenson, 1985), resource ( e.g., Christie, McKenzie, & Burdett, 1972; McNutt & Friend, 1985), and consultative services models (e.g., Idol, 1989). However, for students variously categorized as *seriously emotionally disturbed, emotionally/behaviorally handicapped*, or *behaviorally disordered*, a very different picture emerges.

Historically, the public school record on behalf of students with behavioral disorders is best characterized as one of exclusion, separation, and absence of services (Williams & Haring, 1988). Recent investigation discloses that there has been limited progress in the past two decades toward serving behaviorally disordered students in less restrictive environments (LRE; cf Grosenick, George, & George, 1987; Laycock & Tonelson, 1985). Estimates suggest that approximately 9% of the schoolaged population of behaviorally disordered students is served in regular classrooms, 34% in resource programs, and about 36% in segregated or self-contained placements. Of those students placed in resource classrooms, 83% are mainstreamed for more than half of the school day whereas only approximately 26% of those students in self-contained classrooms are integrated into regular classroom situations for some portion of the school day (Gable & Laycock, 1990). One possible explanation for this dramatic difference is that behaviorally disordered students in self-contained classrooms pose such significant management problems that regular classroom placement is not feasible; however, research on this question is inconclusive (Muscott, 1988).

Students who engage in maladaptive behavior — especially overt acts of defiance and aggression — continue to be the most susceptible to "pull out" placement (Gable & Laycock, 1990; Ritter, 1989). Indeed, Pugach (1985) found that behavior problems constituted almost 65% of all special classroom referrals. Notwithstanding the recent trend toward serving handicapped students in general education, once labeled behaviorally disordered a student is unlikely to be nominated for regular education integration (Braaten, Kauffman, Braaten, Polsgrove, & Nelson, 1988; Sabornie, 1985). For many handicapped students,

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the recent past has been punctuated by the steady movement away from special and into regular classrooms. However, the limited integration of students with behavioral disorders is of concern to researchers, teacher educators, and practitioners alike (e.g., Braaten et al., 1988; Gable, Hendrickson, Algozzine, & Scully, 1989; Grosenick et al., 1987; Kerr, 1989; Muscott, 1988). It is generally recognized that various factors contribute to the failure of many behaviorally disordered students to establish and maintain satisfactory regular classroom adjustment (e.g., Gable, McConnell, & Nelson, 1986). Too often, however, the complexity and magnitude of these factors have been overlooked.

One purpose of this paper is to examine reasons why behaviorally disordered students are among the least successful of all handicapped students served in regular classroom settings. Second, the authors argue for introducing a more ecologically-based approach to addressing many of the shortcomings of current integration practices. Third, we present strategies for training students to "put their best foot forward" and to cope with the vicissitudes of the regular classroom. Issues that relate to facilitating the generalization and maintenance of coping skills of behaviorally disordered students are explored throughout and summarized at the conclusion of the discussion. Finally, we offer some thoughts on the future of mainstreaming of students with behavioral disorders.

**Obstacles to Integration of Students with Behavioral Disorders**

Obstacles to the successful integration of students with behavioral disorders are many and varied. One longstanding barrier to regular classroom integration is the *disturbingness* perception that many general educators hold toward behaviorally disordered students (e.g., Algozzine, 1977; Bullock, Donahue, Zagar, & Pelton, 1985). The often misguided opinion of general educators regarding causality, contagion, and stability of problem behaviors is coupled with the conviction that behaviorally disordered students pose too severe a challenge — with regard to both management and instruction — for regular classroom placement (Gable & Laycock, 1990; Safran & Safran, 1987). The so-called *expectancy* literature testifies to the fact that teachers deal very differently with those students for whom they hold high versus low expectations (e.g., Brophy & Rohrkemper, 1981). Few regular classroom teachers view social skills instruction as resting within their purview, even though this is an area of major deficiency among behaviorally disordered students (e.g., Mathur & Rutherford, 1989). Further, Landon and Mesinger (1989) and Landrum (in press) suggest that more competent regular classroom teachers may actively resist reintegration of students with behavioral disorders. Yet little has been written on overcoming resistance of regular classroom teachers to reintegration or increasing their receptivity to technical assistance for working with behaviorally disordered students (Kauffman, Lloyd, & McGee, 1989). In all, factors that pertain to attitudinal assumptions of general educators diminish the likelihood of mainstream success of students with behavioral disorders.

There are other factors that mitigate against successful regular classroom integration. For example, school systems generally lack clear reintegration guidelines (Peterson, White, Smith, & Zabel, 1980; Rizzo & Zabel, 1988), and administrators are not always supportive of the extensive programing required to assist teachers and students in the mainstreaming process (see Garvar-Pinhas & Schmelkin, 1989). Salend, Brooks, and Salend (1987) found that only 3 of 21 school systems they surveyed had specific mainstreaming criteria, a situ-

ation that is likely to lead to inconsistent and/or arbitrary decisions regarding placement of behaviorally disordered students (Rizzo & Zabel, 1988). Zabel, Peterson, Smith, and White (1982) found that little of the information that is routinely available is useful for making decisions about student integration. While Huntze and Werner (1982) asserted that integration should be systematic and gradual, studies reveal that minimal time and effort ordinarily is dedicated to transitional programing. In fact, Laycock and Tonelson (1985) noted that 42% of the teachers of the behaviorally disordered who were surveyed reported that the transition was concluded in 1-4 weeks, accomplished without preparing the students, and that essentially no systematic follow-up was conducted. In sum, present practices regarding transitioning to the mainstream are ill-defined and poorly executed, with the literature providing few guidelines for the establishment of more useful standards.

Another obstacle that relates to an absence of systematic transitional programing is that classroom practices may vary significantly between regular and special education (Gable et al., 1986). So-called *best practices* in special education (e.g., individualized or small-group instruction, high frequency of praise statements, curricular adaptations) may be antithetical to student adjustment to the demands of the regular classroom. Additionally, substantial variability exists in the classroom management techniques, curricular materials, and instructional styles of regular classroom teachers. Although not irrevocably bound to classroom practices, many students with behavioral disorders find themselves unprepared for the mainstream after a lengthy stay in special settings (e.g., Rizzo & Zabel, 1988). There is some evidence that a relationship exists between length of stay in special education and later school adjustment, with special education placement of no more than 1 or 2 years being the most efficacious (Schnieder & Byrne, 1984). Not surprisingly, many of the behaviorally disordered students themselves prefer the security of special education over the uncertainty of the regular classroom — a dependency, in part, created by specialized techniques (Kerr, 1989) and the absence of transitional programing (Laycock & Tonelson, 1985).

Conspicuously absent from current integration efforts is any widespread attempt to identify precisely necessary *mainstream* behaviors or to prepare systematically students to engage in these behaviors. Many special education teachers are capable of successfully carrying out curricular and managerial adaptations critical to integration (e.g., Gable et al., 1986; Wood, 1987) and of making timely programatic decisions based on data collected through repeated measurement of student performance (e.g., Fuchs, 1986). However, these practices are not often exhibited during the mainstreaming process (e.g., Laycock & Tonelson, 1985).

*Collaboration and consultation.* Studies show that various forms of collaboration and consultation have been instrumental in the retention of exceptional learners in mainstream classrooms (e.g., Chalfant & Pysh, 1989; Polsgrove & McNeil, 1989). It would appear that collaboration between special and regular classroom teachers should contribute to a lowering of programatic barriers and lead to more successful, more efficient integration of behaviorally disordered students. Unfortunately, few consultation programs have been reported that deal specifically with students with behavioral disorders (see Nelson & Stevens, 1980), and there is little indication that teachers of the behaviorally disordered receive adequate preservice preparation or subsequently engage in furnishing

technical assistance to regular educators (e.g., Gable, Hendrickson, Young, & Mohsen, in press; Laycock & Tonelson, 1985). Finally, there is ample evidence to conclude that even when attempts are made to prepare behaviorally disordered students for regular class reintegration, there is little likelihood that training will carry over to the regular classroom. The numerous problems surrounding the issue of generalization have yet to be properly addressed. A summary of the major barriers to successful integration of students with behavioral disorders follows.

1. Disturbingness image
    (a) adult resistance
    (b) peer resistance
2. Misconceptions regarding
    (a) causality
    (b) contagion
    (c) stability
3. Demands of LRE
    (a) academic
    (b) social
    (c) conduct
4. Lack of control over LRE
5. Absence of guidelines
6. Variable administrative support
7. Lack of systematic transitioning
8. Antithetical special practices
9. Lack of BD teacher preparation

**An Ecological-Behavioral Perspective to Reintegration**

Various authors have long supported rejecting a *student-centered* or *pupil-defiant* perspective on behavioral disorders (i.e., the problems rest within the student; Hobbs, 1966; Kerr & Nelson, 1983). From an ecobehavioral viewpoint, pupil behavior is seen as a product of person-environmental transactions that are ongoing, reciprocal, and interdependent (Bijou & Baer, 1978). In contrast to looking simply at student behavior, transactional analysis includes peers and family as well as others who comprise the student's ecosystem (e.g., Hendrickson, Gable, & Shores, 1987). From an ecobehavioral perspective, normal as well as aberrant student behavior originates from interactions with the environment. Consequently, the various physical as well as social settings in which a student must function take on significance for assessment and intervention. The significance attached to person-environmental interactions is linked to the ecological perspective; whereas, emphasis on data-based interventions stems from the behavioral analytic perspective. While a cohesive body of literature has yet to emerge, an ecobehavioral approach appears to hold promise in the area of school-based assessment and intervention (Prieto & Rutherford, 1976) and is well-suited to the integration process (e.g., Downing, Simpson, & Myles, 1990; Huntze & Werner, 1982; Rogers-Warren, 1984).

In discussing the reintegration process, Huntze and Werner (1982) indicated that "students and their environments must be suited to one another" (p. 2). Muscott (1988) pointed out that one way to accomplish that goal is to systematically assess regular classroom ecologies to identify functional standards against which to judge the behavior of behaviorally disordered students. More

recently, Downing et al. (1990) asserted that accurately matching student's characteristics and needs with specific classroom settings may be essential to mainstreaming success. Such assessment, for example, would include evaluation of the student's interactions with those persons indigenous to a less restrictive environment. By approaching integration from an ecobehavioral perspective, there is greater potential for establishing a "goodness-of-fit" between pupil-specific capabilities and environmental demands. For instance, students with moderate to severe behavioral disorders are more likely than others to come from a milieu in which they learned socially maladaptive behaviors including excessive verbal and physical aggression. These undesirable behaviors diminish the likelihood that peers in regular classroom situations will respond positively to their initiations or seek them out, further impeding the acquisition of age-appropriate, prosocial skills and peer acceptance. Programing for social skills development organized according to an ecobehavioral perspective might begin with assessment of the type and level of behavior most likely to gain approval from peers. Data might be collected through direct observation, teacher rating scales, or sociometric measures. In sum, assessment and intervention is driven by processes that take into account the importance of significant others in mainstream settings (e.g., peers, sending and receiving teachers) as well as the congruence between the student and salient aspects of the physical environment.

Ecological analysis occurs in natural settings, with the aim being to uncover discordant behavior-environment relationships that may be a source of the student's problem (Hendrickson et al., 1987). Anderson-Inman, Walker, and Purcell (1984) concur that environmental assessment in preparation for mainstreaming handicapped students makes good sense, but is yet to be accomplished in any systematic or widespread manner. Classroom ecobehavioral assessment systems such as those employed by Greenwood and Carta (1987) and Hendrickson, Sealander, and Sroka (1990) represent a first step toward identifying student environmental matches as well as those situational factors that lead to acceptable versus unacceptable interactions.

An issue that is critical to the regular classroom integration of behaviorally disordered students that relates to ecological assessment is target behavior selection and measurement. A student may engage in a range of potentially problematic acts; however, not every behavior constitutes an obstacle to successful integration and therefore merits treatment. The work of Downing et al. (1990), Kerr and Zigmond (1986), Walker and Rankin (1983), and others has contributed to our knowledge of the demands and expectations of regular classroom teachers, and in turn, to the critical issue of target/replacement behavior specification. One unmistakable conclusion is that regular classroom teachers place extraordinary importance on student compliance and self-control, a reality that is not always apparent during deliberations over behaviorally disordered student integration.

Too little importance generally is attached to selection of target behaviors that have "social validity" or are of functional relevance to the student's success in coping with the demands of less restrictive environments. Confirmation that a problem exists (e.g., a discrepancy between the student's repertoire of social skills and expectations in the regular classroom) facilitates establishment of functional criteria for selecting ecologically-valid target behavior and replacement behaviors (i.e., acceptable alternative responses). Knowledge of target

behaviors and performance standards not only facilitates student training and decisions regarding environmental modification, but also curricular adaptations geared toward increasing the maintenance and generalization of target *and* replacement behaviors. To date, however, literature dealing with target behavior identification, training, and generalization remains limited. Under these conditions, it is difficult to develop an effective strategy for integrating students with behavioral disorders.

## INTEGRATION TRAINING OF BEHAVIORALLY DISORDERED STUDENTS

Teaching behaviorally disordered students coping skills that will increase the prospect of a more satisfactory adjustment to the demands and expectations of the regular classroom is a major part of the overall integration process. What follows is discussion of three general categories of interventions that hold promise for mainstreaming behaviorally disordered students: (a) adult-oriented strategies, (b) peer-mediated strategies, and (c) self-moderated strategies.

*Adult-oriented strategies.* A review of the literature reveals that few deliberate and systematic attempts to introduce skills variously referred to as *school survival* (Kerr & Zigmond, 1986), *teacher pleasing* ( Gable et al., 1986), or *good classroom citizenship* (Sandler, Arnold, Gable, & Strain, 1987) have been reported. In one early example, Graubard, Rosenberg, and Miller (1974) taught students to make eye contact with their teachers, request assistance, and to otherwise engage in teacher reinforcing behavior (e.g., sitting up straight, nodding in agreement with the teacher). Students also were taught to emit "Ah-hah" reactions to teacher explanations of instruction, to ignore provocations, and to break eye contact when teachers reprimanded them. Lastly, students were instructed to be punctual for class and to request that they receive extra assignments. Not surprisingly, positive opinion regarding those students rose dramatically among their regular classroom teachers (also see Rosenberg & Graubard, 1975). However, the durability of these reciprocal changes in behavior appear to be linked to sustained reinforcement of students and adults.

Recently, Morgan, Young, and Goldstein (1983) taught behaviorally disordered students through a series of modeling and role-play exercises to prompt teachers to obtain assistance, to offer praise for help, and finally, to prompt teachers to show approval for acceptable performance. Morgan et al. reported that students with behavioral disorders were able to positively influence the amount and level of teacher assistance, and that the level was maintained after termination of formal intervention. As these few studies illustrate, it is possible that behaviorally disordered students can be trained, in a reasonable amount of time, to engage in norm-referenced, ecologically-valid target behaviors which (a) are consonant with the demands and expectations of the regular classroom teacher, and (b) positively affect the attitude and behavior of teachers themselves. What is not known is the exact proportion of "teacher pleasing" initiations that is best suited to maintaining a positive teacher-pupil relationship.

*Peer-mediated strategies.* Another promising approach pertains to the involvement of peers in promoting the adjustment of behaviorally disordered students to regular classroom situations. Numerous studies have shown that classmates can function successfully in the role of change agents. Indeed, an impressive body of research has accumulated that documents the fact that students can function as therapeutic change agents, differentially reinforcing

selected responses and positively influencing their peer's behavior. However, the bulk of the literature on peer-mediated intervention has involved the use of classmates to develop prosocial behavior (see, for example, special issue of *Behavioral Disorders*, Vol. 12, No. 4, 1987). A few studies have been reported in which students were successful in diminishing the negative behavior of their peers. For example, Vorrath and Brendtro (1974) conducted a project that involved structured class meetings in which students were assigned some responsibility for one another's behavior outside of the group meeting.

In a related investigation, Bellafoire and Salend (1983) provided some empirical support for the effectiveness of a "peer confrontation" or peer pressure technique. Their study called for students to: (a) identify a classmate's problem, (b) state why the behavior was problematic, and finally, (c) specify ways that the student might change the problem behavior. Results of the Bellafoire and Salend study showed that the target student's inappropriate verbal behavior decreased and that the procedure led to a positive change in the conduct of several nontarget classmates. Graubard et al. (1974) taught behaviorally disordered students to modify the derogatory statements and hostile physical contacts of so-called "normal" peers. Students were directly taught to use extinction (e.g., walk away from classmates), verbally reinforce incompatible and positive behavior, and finally, to manipulate contingencies (e.g., assist classmates with home work or in-school activities). Results demonstrated that students with behavioral disorders were able to increase significantly the positive initiations of peers and overall interactions with normal classmates.

Sandler et al. (1987) elaborated on the use of peer pressure to modify inappropriate verbal and nonverbal behavior of behaviorally disordered students. A special classroom teacher trained and then prompted youngsters to respond to episodes of disruptive behavior of the target students. Classmates asked a series of questions regarding the inappropriate behavior, whether the target student recognized that the behavior was a problem, and what changes in behavior might rectify the situation. Results indicated that peer pressure was effective in lessening the inappropriate conduct of the targeted students. There was a decline not only in the occurrence of target behaviors but also nontarget problem behavior as well. Further, target behaviorally disordered students spontaneously engaged in the step-by-step feedback process with classmates. The authors concluded that the presence of a classmate may have served as a "discriminative stimulus which facilitated more appropriate behavior even when the peer confrontation procedure was not in effect" (p. 109). Collectively, use of peers as change agents has been shown to be: (a) effective in both increasing appropriate and decreasing inappropriate behavior, (b) applicable in a variety of settings, and (c) preferred by some target students (e.g., Kerr & Nelson, 1989; Rutherford & Nelson, 1988; Sandler et al., 1987). The challenge is to put into practice what we know and to discover new ways to engage behaviorally disordered students and their classmates in the task of acquiring, generalizing, and maintaining acceptable regular classroom behavior of behaviorally disordered students.

*Self-moderated strategies.* Teaching behaviorally disordered students to reinforce and shape teacher behavior and the use of peers in the promotion and regulation of the behavior of behaviorally disordered students in regular classroom settings hold great promise. A third set of strategies, self- moderation techniques, are not widely utilized by teachers of the behaviorally disordered

(Laycock & Tonelson, 1985) but appear to be a major factor in successful integration. Discussed under the rubric of self-control, these strategies include: self-evaluation, self-monitoring, self-management, and self-reinforcement. For example, in an early self-control study, Drabman, Spitalnik, and O'Leary (1973) taught eight disruptive preadolescent boys who were placed in an adjustment class to be responsible for managing their own behavior. To do so, the boys were introduced to a series of treatments that included token reinforcement of appropriate behavior, self-ratings matched against teacher evaluations, and self-evaluation and reinforcement. Results showed that the students were able to be relatively honest and accurate in their self-evaluations; disruptive behaviors decreased while academic productivity was accelerated (Drabman et al., 1973).

More recently, Rhode, Morgan, and Young (1983) taught behaviorally disordered students placed in a resource room to self-evaluate their behavior to facilitate reintegration into mainstream classrooms. Students were able to apply successfully a five-point rating scale and to perform according to mainstream teacher expectations. Edwards and O'Toole (1985) provided extensive coverage of the Self-Control Curriculum authored by Fagan, Long, and Stevens (1975). They discussed several previous investigations that suggested changes in behavior may vary as a function of student characteristics (e.g., passive versus impulsive or sociopathic). As these few studies suggest, Nelson (1987) reported that self-regulation training has potential for promoting maintenance and generalization of appropriate behavior. Even so, Polsgrove (1979) concluded from his review of research on training students in behavioral self-control that self-management strategies had not been demonstrated as effective as proponents assert.

### The Importance of Maintenance and Generalization Training

As Kerr and Nelson (1989) point out, the question of whether a change in behavior occurs across settings is one of generality. Our ability to extend training effects to other situations in which similar behavior is required remains an elusive goal, one that has plagued researchers and practitioners for decades (cf. Stokes & Baer, 1977; Rutherford & Nelson, 1988). Although attention to methodological issues surrounding generalization training is growing, the "albatross of generalization" remains as a major hindrance to successful integration of behaviorally disordered students (Kerr & Nelson, 1989). Kauffman, McCullough, and Sabornie (1984), Muscott and Bond (1986), and Rizzo and Zabel (1988) have advocated various strategies to facilitate integration. These strategies often include ascertaining the social and behavioral demands of the regular classroom as a first step to attempting to enhance the behavioral repertoire of students with behavioral disorders.

As we noted, introduction of an ecobehavioral approach requires that we take into account the range of expectations, opportunities, and reinforcement contingencies operating across various environmental settings (e.g., classroom, playground, cafeteria). In carrying out an ecobehavioral assessment, those person-person interactions most likely to be sustained by naturally occurring events following the termination of direct intervention are pinpointed. For example, we can identity behavior that is topographically similar to routine response patterns of normal peers (Evans, Gable, & Evans, in press). Then, students to be integrated are trained to initiate behavior that is consonant with or similar to

that of their agemates. While there is no assurance of generalization, this approach increases the probability that the behavior will be cued and reinforced by naturally occurring stimuli (i.e., entrapped). Kerr and Nelson (1989) have used the term "trapping effect" to describe attempts to train behaviorally disordered students to elicit socially acceptable behavior, behavior that will gain attention, invite a positive response, and be positively reinforced. One caveat, however, is that there is scant evidence that entrapment will occur without peer acceptance. Since most students with behavioral disorders have a unequivocally negative reputation among classmates (e.g., Cullinan & Epstein, 1985; Sabornie, 1985), the issue of how to establish peer acceptance requires further investigation.

Among the few large scale generalization training applications discussed in the literature is transenvironmental programing (Anderson-Inman et al., 1984). Transenvironmental programing is comprised of four distinct elements: (a) assessment of the behavioral expectations of the generalization setting(s), (b) skills training in the special education setting, (c) introduction of techniques for facilitating transfer of skills trained across settings, and (d) monitoring and evaluation of student performance in the generalization setting(s). According to the authors, transenvironmental programing relies heavily on the monitoring of student performance in various settings. Actual student training is accomplished by means of a pre-exiting curriculum comprised of skills required for regular class success. As discussed by Anderson-Inman et al. (1984), training was facilitated by introduction of the ACCEPTS Program (A Curriculum for Children's Effective Peer and Teacher Skills) and the Project ASSIST (Academic Support Skills for Integrated Students) curriculum. In a related project, Reitz, Boley, and Kriegish (1988) described their attempts to provide transition programing for behaviorally disordered students in a separate education and treatment program. A liaison specialist was involved in formulating a stepwise plan before, during, and following transitioning. A transition classroom was established in which the transition teacher focused on academic and behavioral goals that corresponded to a less restrictive environment (Reitz et al., 1988). Interested readers are encouraged to examine the work of Anderson-Inman et al. (1984), Huntze and Werner (1982), Kauffman et al. (1984), Muscott and Bond (1986), and Rizzo and Zabel (1988) for further information on establishing transitional programs.

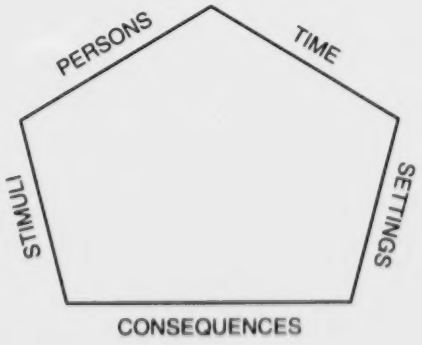


**Figure 1.** *Generalization training paradigm.*

*Training variables.* A related dimension of the multifaceted issue of generalization deals with the importance of accounting for specific training variables. As shown in Figure 1, available data indicate that various factors must be taken into account in devising a program of generalization training (Haring & Liberty, 1990). A successful generalization paradigm reflects training across (a) specific antecedent stimuli, (b) long-term and immediate consequences, (c) physical settings, (d) persons, and (e) time. Knowledge is required not only of the setting-specific demands of different environments, but also the level at which the student presently is able to perform specific skills (e.g., Evans et al., in press; Haring & Liberty, 1990; Hendrickson et al., 1987). Haring and Liberty (1990), Kerr and Nelson (1989), and Rutherford and Nelson (1988) all have stressed the necessity of applying multiple rather than single intervention procedures to facilitate generalization of trained behavior. In asserting that a generalization training technology is beginning to surface, Haring and Liberty (1990) offered a series of recommendations. These included (a) providing students sequential training in various settings, (b) training students to recruit reinforcement for appropriate acts, and (c) the withdrawal of reinforcement of trained behaviors and reinforcing only some generalized instances of the target behavior.

## Some Behaviorally Disordered Students Are Not Best Served in the Mainstream

Although the subject has sparked widespread debate, available evidence supports the opinion that not all students with behavioral disorders are best served in regular classroom situations. The enormous effort required makes it doubtful that most regular classroom teachers will be able to deal effectively with behaviorally disordered students (Braaten et al., 1988). Kauffman and Pullen (1989) have argued that the likelihood of teacher adoption of proven strategies — especially behavior modification techniques — is greater in special than in regular classrooms. It seems imperative, therefore, that we preserve a range of service delivery options that have been shown to be of benefit to behaviorally disordered students (Gable & Laycock, 1990; Kauffman & Pullen, 1989).

We believe that sufficient evidence has accumulated that the course away from more restrictive services should be plotted with great care (Gable & Laycock, 1990). We find it hard to accept that the finite classroom resources of teacher time, effort, and ability can be reasonably divided between the demands of the excellence movement in general education and the program requirements usually associated with successful instruction of behaviorally disordered students (e.g., Braaten et al., 1988). It follows that the development and validation of guidelines for determining when and how to integrate students with behavioral disorders represents an extremely worthwhile undertaking. In addition, factors that might be incorporated into companion guidelines for deferring student integration include (a) consultative support needed and allocation of resources, (b) complexity of treatment, (c) intrusiveness and duration of the intervention package, and (d) possible harm to self and others. Given the weight of negative opinion of regular classroom teachers and peers toward students with behavioral disorders, the receptivity of specific mainstream classrooms also must be realistically assessed. Drawing from the literature that these present authors have reviewed, a summary of factors that deserve attention when making decisions about reintegration follows.

1. Knowledge of demands of LRE
2. Climate for collaboration
3. Level of administrative support
4. Complexity of required programing
5. Intrusiveness of required programing
6. Duration of required programing
7. Acceptability of programing demands
8. Possible side effects of programing
9. Teacher motivation
10. Student motivation

## CONCLUSION

We concede that the current climate, influenced by widespread and sometime contentious debate over the regular education initiative (REI) along with an uncertain national economy, makes it difficult to predict the future of the field of behavioral disorders. Also, we recognize that too few differences sometimes exist in teaching skills, specialized program components, and placement options for students with severe behavioral disorders (e.g., Muscott, 1988). Still, we are convinced that there is ample justification to look critically at placement decisions for students with behavioral disorders separate from other categories of exceptionality. We support movement of handicapped students into regular classroom settings but are convinced that for many students with behavioral disorders, the doctrine of least restrictive environment (LRE) is an unreasonable expectation (Muscott, 1988).

For those students with behavioral disorders who will benefit from regular classroom placement, absence of a "philosophical consensus" regarding the integration process represents a major obstacle to successful integration (Kauffman et al., 1984). That consensus should incorporate the view that "integration is desirable only when there is a reasonable match between the ED/BD student's performance and the expectations of the regular class" (p. 206). Regular classroom teachers are in need of reassurance that students with behavioral disorders will not be moved indiscriminately into their classrooms. A public policy that assures careful deliberation regarding these decisions might facilitate greater collaboration surrounding programing options for behaviorally disordered students and contribute to the emergence of empirically-based reintegration practices.

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# Learning Time in Special Education Placement Alternatives

H. Lyndall Rich

This society has become extraordinarily preoccupied with the concept of "time". Great emphasis is placed on time-oriented events such as birthdays, anniversaries, appointments, graduation, and tenure. There are numerous reminders of time — class meeting schedules, birthdays, anniversaries, chronological age, tardy slips, pay day, and more specific to special education, date services are to begin, length of time, and hours in the regular class. Even the current definition of seriously emotionally disturbed states that the condition must exist "over an extended period of time." This time orientation is so engrained that it is a rare individual who does not have a watch or a clock or a calendar.

It is little wonder, then, that the National Commission on Excellence in Education in their report, *A Nation at Risk: The Imperative for Educational Reform* (1983), included *time* as one of the primary recommendations. "We recommend that significantly more time be devoted to learning. . . .This will require more effective use of the existing school day, a longer school day, or a lengthened school year" (p. 29). This *time recommendation* was subsequently endorsed by the National Governor's Association and included as an "action agenda" priority (Alexander, 1986).

It appears that the initial attempts to implement this recommendation have taken the form of increasing the school day and/or the school year. However, there are no data to demonstrate that increasing the scheduled time, alone, will result in significant student gains. There seems to be little interest in evaluating a major thrust of the recommendation: "[the] more effective use of the existing school day." Evaluating the content and processes within the time frames, at least in special education, has the potential of producing data that may enable program staff to increase students' learning time.

Measuring the current use of educational time is important since the amount of time students devote to learning is modestly but consistently reported to be a necessary prerequisite to effective increases in school achievement (Fredrick & Walberg, 1980; Gettinger, 1984; Rosenshine, 1979). Currently, there is relatively little data on the use of learning time among students with disabilities within different special education program alternatives (i.e., regular classroom, resource room, special class, and special school).

The limited research that has been conducted on the academic gains of students with disabilities assigned to different program alternatives (e.g., Calhoun & Elliott, 1977; Leinhardt, 1980; Madden & Slavin, 1983) indicates that students with disabilities assigned to the regular classroom significantly outperformed those students assigned to segregated alternatives, particularly the self-contained special class. While these results may be largely attributable to differences in the severity of the disabilities, additional undetermined factors were reported to have contributed to the differences in outcomes. One of the unde-

termined factors is believed to be a difference in students' time on learning tasks. Given the importance yet vaguely specified effects of time, this research was designed to measure the use of time in the existing school day in special education.

This research measured the use of existing learning time for students with disabilities in four special education placement alternatives: the regular classroom, the resource room, special classes, and special schools. Several questions regarding time are addressed:

1. What percentage of the 6-hour school day (excluding lunch) are students in the classroom (or other school learning environments such as the library)?
2. What percentage of the time in the classroom are students allocated time to be on learning tasks?
3. What percentage of allocated learning time are students attending to or engaged with the learning tasks?

Of secondary interest were exploratory questions regarding selected classroom conditions that were expected to be associated with differences in students' time-on-task:

4. To what extent are selected teacher behaviors (visual monitoring, mobility, and verbal management) related to students' time-on-task?
5. To what extent are classroom instructional organizations (one-on-one, small group, large group, and independent learning) related to students' time-on-task?
6. To what extent are students' task requirements (singular, dual, passive, and active) related to students' time-on-task?

## METHOD

This research used a naturalistic observational method that measured, first, how time was being used in the four special education alternatives, and second, how selected classroom factors are related to time-on-task. For the purposes of this research, an educational task was defined as any content material, objective, and/or activity contained in the appropriate curriculum guide or Individual Educational Plan.

### Sample

The sample consisted of 308 elementary-aged students with disabilities enrolled in 65 different classrooms located in 21 different schools. The schools are a part of three school systems, two state/hospital schools, and one private special school. Table 1 reflects the disability distribution and enrollment in different placement alternatives. The 308 students were enrolled in regular classrooms ($n$ = 39), resource rooms ($n$ = 81), special classes ($n$ = 136), and special schools ($n$ = 52). The sample included students who were certified as mildly mentally retarded ($n$ = 56), moderately mentally retarded ($n$ = 65), learning disabled ($n$ = 71), and seriously emotionally disturbed (ED/BD; $n$ = 116).

The distribution of disabilities by placement alternatives in this sample presents what appears to be programatic assignments based on the disability labels. The milder disabilities, with few exceptions, were receiving services in the regular class and/or resource alternatives, while the sample of moderately retarded and emotionally disturbed (ED/BD) were assigned to the more restrictive alternatives.

**TABLE 1**

*Categorical Disability Conditions by Placement Alternatives*

| Disability | Regular Class | Resource Room | Special Class | Special School | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Mild MR | 18 | 38 | 0 | 0 | 56 |
| Moderate MR | 0 | 0 | 29 | 36 | 65 |
| Learning disabled | 21 | 43 | 3 | 4 | 71 |
| Emotionally disturbed/ Behaviorally disordered | 0 | 0 | 104 | 12 | 116 |
| Total | 39 | 81 | 136 | 52 | 308 |

**Procedures**

The observation procedure focused on individual students in 5- to 15-minute time samples and were coded in 3-second intervals for the different time conditions. Individual student observations were concluded after 5 minutes of allocated learning time, or after 15 minutes of total time, whichever occurred first. The average individual observation time was 12.7 minutes for a total of 65.2 hours of observation for the 308 students.

Each student was scored for the time in the classroom (or learning environment), the time that was allocated for learning (i.e., provided the opportunity to be engaged with a learning task), and actual time-on-task or engaged learning time. Observable indicators for "attending" (Rinne, 1984) were used to determine and code students' on-task behavior. Students' engaged behaviors included, for example, asking or answering questions, eye contact with the curriculum materials, following teacher directions, and writing from the chalkboard, text, or worksheet.

The selected teacher behaviors were coded as to whether or not the behaviors were evidenced at least once during the observation of individual students. Visual monitoring was scored if the teacher looked at the student; mobility (physical closeness) was scored if the teacher came within touching distance of the student; and verbal management was scored if a behavioral correction, warning, and/or action was audible for any student in the room. In addition, the instructional organization for the observed students was coded as one-on-one, small group (less than half the class), large group (more than half the class), and independent (no interaction with others). Finally, the type of task was coded as singular (one task) or dual (more than one task), and motor (physical responses such as writing or saying or pointing) or passive (no motor response such as listening or reading or watching).

All students were randomly observed in each classroom when more than one student with a disability was present. The author collected all observational data after establishing an interrater reliability with a trained observer of .92 for student time-on-task and .97 for the selected classroom conditions. The unit of analysis for the statistical procedures was the students ($N = 308$) since all of the time conditions and behaviors were scored for individual students.

## RESULTS

This study addressed several questions concerning the amount of time that students were in the classroom within the 6-hour school day (excluding lunch), the amount of time allocated to learning tasks while in the classroom, and for individual students, the amount of allocated time that was on-task.

### The Use of Time

The combined average data for the four special education alternatives revealed that during the 6-hour school day the students were actually in the classroom 78% of the time, or slightly more than 4-1/2 hours. The amount of time spent in the classroom for special education students is approximately 30 minutes more than that reported for regular education students (e.g., Rich & McNelis, 1987). While in the classroom, students were allocated approximately 3 hours to be on learning tasks (65% of the classroom time or 51% of the school day). And of the 3 allocated hours, students were on-task 65% of the time or 2 hours of the school day.

The central question to this research concerned the use of time in the four special education alternative placements — the regular class, the resource room, the special class, and the special school. Among these four placement alternatives there were significant differences for time in the classroom ($p = < .01$), for allocated learning time ($p = < .001$), and for students' time-on-task ($p = < .001$). Table 2 contains the percentages of time for each alternative and the ANOVA comparisons between groups.

**TABLE 2**

*Mean Percentages of Time for Program Alternatives and ANOVA Results for Between-Groups Comparisons*

| | Special Education Alternatives | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Variable | Regular Class ($n = 39$) | Resource Room ($n = 81$) | Special Class ($n = 136$) | Special School ($n = 52$) | *F* ratio |
| In class (a) | 75.3 | 82.6 | 76.2 | 81.9 | 4.50* |
| Allocated (b) | 78.2 | 79.8 | 51.3 | 68.4 | 17.35** |
| Opportunity (a x b) | 58.9 | 65.9 | 39.1 | 56.0 | 19.60** |
| Individual TOT (c) | 63.0 | 71.1 | 62.2 | 62.1 | 5.52** |
| Total TOT (a x b x c) | 37.1 | 46.9 | 24.3 | 34.8 | 18.33** |

*$p < .01$, **$p < .001$

Chi-square analysis further indicated that students in the resource room alternative significantly outperformed students in the other three alternatives for individual time-on-task ($p = < .05$). Allocated learning time also favored students in the resource room and the regular class over students in the special class ($p = < .01$) and the special school ($p = .05$), but there was no significant difference between the resource room and the regular class. Three of the alternatives — resource room, regular class, and special school — significantly outperformed the special class in allocated time ($p = < .05$). Generally, students spent more time on-task in the less restrictive alternatives, particularly the resource room,

than they did in the more segregated settings, particularly the special class. Significant differences for students' opportunity for learning time (in-class x allocated time) and total time-on-task (in-class x allocated time x time-on-task) are probably a function of the combining of the variables.

Table 3 represents the combined average for the different alternatives for time out of the classroom and nonallocated learning time while in the classroom. The time spent in school but out of the classroom was devoted to the following activities, presented in descending order: recess; restroom; assemblies; late/tardiness; drinking water; emergencies; errands; and other or unknown factors. These out-of-the-classroom activities, on the average, accounted for 1 hour and 20 minutes or 22% of the school day. The time devoted to recess and use of the restroom accounted for 65% (52 minutes) of the out-of-the-class time.

**TABLE 3**

*Mean Daily Time Spent Out of Class and Nonallocated Learning Time for the Combined Special Education Alternatives*

| Time Out of Class | | | Nonallocated Learning Time | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Activity** | **Percentage** | **Minutes** | **Activity** | **Percentage** | **Minutes** |
| Recess | 42.6 | 34 | Procedures | 35.2 | 34 |
| Restroom | 22.2 | 18 | Waiting | 20.4 | 20 |
| Assembly | 14.8 | 12 | Transitions | 14.8 | 14 |
| Late/tardy | 11.1 | 9 | Free time | 10.0 | 10 |
| Drink/water | 2.5 | 2 | Interruption | 6.5 | 6 |
| Emergency | 2.0 | 2 | Eat/snack | 5.2 | 5 |
| Errand | 1.9 | 2 | Other/unknown | 7.8 | 8 |
| Other/unknown | 2.9 | 2 | | | |
| Total | 100 | 80 | | 100 | 97 |

The resource room presented a set of characteristics that were not typical in the other alternatives. Since by definition students are not placed full-time in the resource room, the in-class time was prorated based on the time the students were actually assigned. Consequently, recess was not observed and restroom time was infrequently observed in the resource alternative since such time was probably a function of their regular classroom placement. An inordinate amount of late/tardy time, however, was attributable to the resource alternative. Slightly more than 50% of this out-of-class time was due to resource students arriving after their designated arrival time.

The in-class time that was not allocated for learning time was devoted to the following in descending order: procedures; waiting; transitions; free time; interruptions; eating/snack time; and a variety of minor reasons. Procedures — the most frequent nonallocated learning time — were related to classroom and lesson organization and included activities such as distributing worksheets, collecting students' materials, managing behavior, making announcements, and clarifying or making classroom rules, and averaged 34 minutes per school day.

Waiting was a more subtle category of nonallocated learning time. Students were coded as not having allocated academic time when they had no required or expected task involvement and they were waiting, for example, for a turn to

complete a problem at the chalkboard or for the teacher to finish with another student or for other students to finish a test. The time spent "waiting" constituted 20.4% of the nonallocated time.

Transitions, that is moving from one activity to another, ranked third on the list of nonallocated academic time — 14.8% of the classroom time. Changing from one subject to another or from one class to another or from the class to recess, lunch, or restroom typically required time to prepare for the change, then time to get ready to learn again upon return.

The remaining nonallocated academic time included free nondirected time (10.1%), interruptions, usually by other teachers or students or public address announcements (6.5%), eating nonlunch meals such as snacks (5.2%), and a variety of other factors (7.8%).

**Selected Classroom Conditions**

The final questions concerned selected classroom conditions that were believed to be related to student time-on-task. Table 4 includes the selected teacher behaviors, instructional organizations, and the types of task requirements with the percentage of allocated time that students were on-task when those conditions were evidenced. The selected teacher behaviors consisted of visual monitoring, mobility/closeness, and verbal management which were coded if they occurred while the individual student was being observed. In short, did the teacher or teacher assistant look at the student or come within touching distance or use an audible control technique?

**TABLE 4**

*Mean Percentages of Time-On-Task During Allocated Learning Time for Selected Classroom Conditions*

| | Percentages |
|---|---|
| Teacher behaviors | |
| Visual monitoring | 81 |
| Closeness/mobility | 71 |
| Verbal management | 54 |
| Organization | |
| One-on-one | 86 |
| Small group | 79 |
| Large group | 67 |
| Independent | 58 |
| Task behavior | |
| Single/passive | 60 |
| Dual/motor | 81 |

The results indicate that visual monitoring was associated with greater student time-on-task; that is, when the teacher routinely looked at the students, they were on-task 81% of the allocated time. A correlational matrix also supported a strong positive correlation with time-on-task ($r$ = .49). Teacher mobility had a weaker positive correlation with time-on-task ($r$ = .23), but it also shares a correlation of similar direction and magnitude with visual monitoring. Verbal manage-

ment had weak negative correlation with time-on-task ($r$ = -.15), possibly due to what appeared to be a dual function of verbal management. That is, while verbal management appeared to more often result in on-task behavior for students who were off-task, there tended to be the unintentional function of creating off-task behavior among students who were on-task. Students who were on-task tended to shift their attention from the task to the subject of the verbal management.

Instructional organization was categorized as one-on-one instruction, small group (less than half of the class), large group (more than half of the class), and independent, usually individual seatwork. Teachers' organizational methods for instruction were associated with differential rates of student on-task behavior during the time allocated for learning. One-on-one instruction clearly had the highest rate of student time-on-task (86%), followed by small group (79%), followed by large group (67%), and finally, independent seatwork (58%). Regular classroom teachers more often used the large group approach but in some areas, particularly reading, used the small group in combination with independent seatwork. The more restrictive alternatives more often used one-on-one and small group approaches with less frequent use of the large group and independent approaches.

While it may appear that one-on-one instruction is the most efficient regarding students' on-task behavior, this conclusion may be misleading. As Goodman (1990) points out, one-on-one instruction may be counterproductive. That is, while this more intense instruction has a high rate of student on-task time, the actual time of one-to-one instruction is relatively short in duration during which other students often were functioning independently, which had the lowest rate of on-task time, possibly cancelling the potential gains of one-on-one instruction.

The combination of teacher behaviors and instructional organizations appear to be critical factors related to proportionately lower time-on-task, particularly in ED/BD special classes. That is, special class teachers more frequently used one-on-one and small group instruction combined with verbal management. Too often, the teacher became academically or behaviorally engrossed with relatively few students, virtually ignoring the remainder of the class until off-task behaviors became so obvious that the teacher intervened. Visual monitoring and mobility were more often used to bring the student back to task rather than being used as routine preventative procedures. The presence of a teacher assistant, particularly in the special class, may have influenced the results but the extent is believed to be minimal. Typically, the assistant mirrored the teacher in one-on-one instruction or completed paper work, rarely interacting with students.

Teachers who had greater student time-on-task gave evidence of being aware of the total classroom group by frequently looking at all students and occasionally moving around the classroom. Kounin (1967) described these teachers as having two critical attributes related to student deviancy and work involvement — "withitness" (aware of what's happening throughout the classroom) and "overlappingness" (ability to deal with two or more situations simultaneously).

Finally, the type of task requirements were coded as singular and/or passive (such as only reading or only listening or only watching), and those that were multiple tasks (such as reading and writing or watching and pointing or listening and answering). Students' off-task time was more likely to occur when the task required a single passive behavior. This single on-task behavior (60% of the allocated time) was less than that for tasks that required multiple behaviors, particu-

larly when a task requirement included a motor activity such as writing, calculating, marking, drawing, and/or manipulating an object (81%).

## DISCUSSION

The data suggest that learning time can be increased in the existing school day. It may be that increasing the school day and/or school year will overextend the energy, motivation, and resources of both teachers and students and be less effective than developing strategies for increasing time-on-task in the existing school day. There can be no illusion that time-on-task can be 100% for the entire 6-hour school day — recess, restroom, procedures, transitions, and so on are important and necessary. But if time-on-task can be increased 30 minutes per day, it would represent the time equivalent of 1 additional year every 4 years. Based on this study, there are a number of factors, not to be considered inclusive, that are related to increasing students time-on-task.

The resource alternative, which consistently outperformed the other alternatives, appears organizationally designed to maximize learning. Undoubtedly, the smaller class size and milder disability conditions had an impact on increased learning time. Nonetheless, resource teachers appeared to anticipate and were prepared for a variety of different learning activities, thus reducing the time devoted to procedures, waiting, and transitions. Additionally, the resource teacher more frequently demonstrated an awareness of the total classroom group by visually and physically monitoring students.

In classes where teacher assistants were present — typically within the special class — more effective use of their services needs to be developed and employed. While completing routine paper work is important (forms, grading, reports, etc.), these noninteractive responsibilities are associated with a loss of student on-task time. This research suggests that such activities be deferred to noninstructional times and that teacher assistants be responsible for monitoring the classroom group, perhaps coupled with sequential tutoring, while the teacher is engaged in one-on-one or small group instruction. Both the teacher and the assistant cannot become absorbed with a relatively few students, ignoring the remainder of the class.

While no claims can be made regarding the cause of differential learning time, it is suspected that teachers in the segregated alternatives were exhibiting "burnout" symptoms (Greer & Wethered, 1984). Because of the severity and diversity of students' problems, academically and behaviorally, it appeared that teachers more often engaged students in nonlearning activities such as free time to interrupt the persistent demands of teaching. This problem requires a systemwide solution. Clearly, teachers in every alternative need additional resources and support. However, many of the teachers in the special class alternative appear to have been abandoned — without significant supervisory or consultative support, left on their own to deal with problems, to complete the increasing amount of paperwork, and perhaps most important, to contain, not educate, students with disabilities, particularly ED/BD students.

There is no evidence to indicate that lengthening the "time" structure of education — that is, increasing the school year of the school day — will result in greater learning. The amount of scheduled time per se appears to be a weak measure of how much time students spend on task. Instead, it is suggested that the time that is already available be more effectively utilized.

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# Aggressive Children: A School-Based Kindergarten Program

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**ABSTRACT**

*There is a growing concern with aggressive, acting-out behaviors of children which may impact negatively on their own and their classmates' learning, may contribute to their teachers' stress levels, and may interfere with the smooth functioning of the school. This article describes the development and implementation of a preventative, multimodal, school-based program for children at risk for the development of chronic behavioral disorders. The program, currently in its first year of implementation, was designed for all kindergarten children. It focuses on the development of prosocial and problem-solving skills and is ecologically based. It involves three components: a Teacher Support Component, a Parent Involvement Component, and a Direct Service to Children Component. The results of the formative evaluation indicate that the program is perceived by educators as providing benefits to each of the students, parents, teachers, and resource staff members.*

There is a growing awareness in the educational community of the needs of the *whole child*, inclusive of both the social and emotional development of the child as well as cognitive and academic needs (Miller, 1988). There is also a recognition that the social development of the child suffers as family and societal stressors impact negatively on the child (Pryor-Brann & Cowen, 1989). These stressors include financial pressures, the prevalence of alternate family structures and the breakdown of the nuclear family, the lack of sufficient high quality day care, and the lack of sufficient mental health facilities to serve the needs of the family. These impact on the ability of the parents to forge positive partnerships with the school for the benefit of their child's development. The awareness in the educational community of the broader needs of the children and of the difficulties of families in responding to the social needs of their children has led to a concern about how best to provide services within the school system for children who present with emotional and behavioral difficulties.

A number of these children in the school system display physically and verbally aggressive, acting-out behaviors that interfere with their learning, the learning of their classmates, the mental health of their teachers, and the smooth functioning of the schools. A large-scale epidemiological study of the incidence of behavioral and emotional difficulties in children was carried out in 1983 in Ontario — The Ontario Child Health Survey (Offord, Boyle, & Racine, 1991). Of children 4 to 16 years old, 5.5% were identified as conduct disordered. While children with these social difficulties are familiar to clinical practitioners and often constitute a large proportion of their case load (Kazdin, 1987), the majority

are never seen in mental health centers (Offord et al., 1991). There are often long waiting lists for treatment. Most children are not even referred for treatment, and when they are, the children and families don't often continue the treatment. For example, only one in five or six families of high-risk children persist in ongoing treatment. Teachers, or even the children themselves, once they reach adolescence, are more likely than parents to identify these problems (Offord et al., 1991).

However, all of these children are seen by the schools and repeatedly bring themselves to the attention of speech pathologists, psychologists, social workers, and other consultants working within the educational system. A survey of British teachers indicated that 51% felt that they are having to spend too much time on behavior problems (Wheldall & Merrett, 1988), and these findings were upheld by a recent survey within the Peel Board of Education where 53% of educators perceived a need for more attention to be paid in the schools to behavioral and social concerns. A comparison of behavioral programs in schools, now and 20 years ago, indicated that a greater proportion of students identified as behaviorally disturbed currently participate in the mainstream (Grosenick, George, & George, 1987).

## INTERVENTION: TRADITIONAL APPROACHES

A variety of approaches have been employed in the search for effective intervention strategies with aggressive children. These have included individual psychotherapy, group psychotherapy, behavior therapy, social problem-solving skills training, pharmacotherapy, residential treatment, and parent management training (Kazdin, 1987).

School approaches fall into two broad categories: Ad hoc and behavioral. Ad hoc approaches vary greatly from child to child, school to school, but essentially consist of reactive, short-term interventions which follow a child's transgressions. In contrast, behavioral approaches are more systematic and system-based approaches, and include self-contained behavioral classes, behavioral support offered on a withdrawal basis (resource), consultation, and the use of itinerant behavioral staff within regular classes (Grosenick et al., 1987) as well as social skills programing.

Some conclusions can be drawn about the current range of interventions with these students:

1. These interventions are expensive in terms of placing additional demands on the time and energy of school and resource staff, as well as in terms of the monetary costs necessitated by the small ratio of students to staff in contained programs and the hiring of child-care workers and other teaching assistants.

2. These behavioral programs are reactive in nature rather than proactive or preventatively oriented. That is, they typically become operative only after a history of repeated aggressive or otherwise inappropriate child behaviors (Grosenick et al., 1987).

3. Most school districts provide services to older rather than to very young behaviorally disordered children. The growth in service options is most evident at the secondary level (Grosenick et al., 1987).

4. Most importantly, there is a lack of evidence that these behavioral programs result in behavioral changes which are generalized to a variety of settings or which are maintained over the long term. A survey of 126 school dis-

tricts with services for behaviorally disturbed children and youth revealed that 70% of the school districts had no formulated written program evaluation plans (Grosenick et al., 1987).

## INTERVENTION: PREVENTION AND ECOLOGICAL APPROACHES

A review of the literature indicates that two approaches have been useful in providing services for children with social and emotional difficulties: an early prevention and an ecological approach (Comer, 1985; Karnes, Johnson, & Beauchamp, 1988)

### Early Prevention

The weight of the evidence suggests that a preventative approach (Cowen, 1982) is important in working with aggressive children.

For example, aggressive behavior patterns emerge early in childhood. Treatment is most effective up to age 6 and becomes less effective with increasing age (Forehand & Long, 1988). Patterson (1982) has pointed out that antisocial behavior tends to be stable across time and that aggressive children are at risk for a variety of problems as adolescents and as adults, such as poor peer relationships, poor work skills, school failure, dropout, and later criminal behavior (Kazdin, 1987). Furthermore, there is a multigenerational concern with aggressive children at high risk becoming the parents of aggressive, conduct disordered children. Continuity over three generations has been demonstrated (Heusmann, Eron, Lefkowitz, & Walder, 1984).

Also, aggressive children lack the necessary prosocial skills and competencies to get along with their peers (Eisert, Walker, Severson, & Block, 1989; Parker & Asher, 1987). Psychosocial competencies act as protective factors for children's future development (Rae-Grant, Thomas, Offord, & Boyle, 1989). Protective factors include social competence and academic achievement (Garmezy, Masten, & Tellegren, 1984) as well as favorable family factors such as supportive parents, family closeness, and adequate rule setting (Werner & Smith, 1982).

### Ecological Approach

The research evidence clearly indicates that preventative work is best done by working within the system (family, school, and community) of which the child is a part (Bronfenbrenner, 1980). For example, research with social skills programing for aggressive children points to the need to include both teachers and parents (Coie, Underwood, & Lochman, 1991). The importance of the family in developing and maintaining deviant behavior patterns suggests that preventative programs need to include parents as well as educators (Reid & Patterson, 1989). However, parents' energies for dealing with school-related issues may be limited due to other, often more pressing, issues such as finances, employment, health, or family stability. Such difficulties may place significant stress on the resources of the family and reduce school performance to a lower level of priority.

At the school, a number of staff members can be involved with the child and family. Program and resource staff from the Board, social workers, speech pathologists, teachers, teachers' assistants, and psychologists each provide

expertise as well as various perspectives of the child. Consistent with an ecological approach, there is a need for professionals to share information with each other in multidisciplinary teams (Johnson & Johnson, 1987).

## DEVELOPMENT OF THE KINDERGARTEN INTERVENTION PROJECT

As a result of concerns with social and behavioral difficulties of young children, the Kindergarten Intervention Project (KIP) was developed. The KIP is an integrated, multimodal, school-based initiative aimed at the development of prosocial and problem-solving skills in junior kindergarten and kindergarten children. It currently is being implemented in four schools in the Peel Board of Education in Ontario. This program was developed from within the Board, and the overall goals of the project are to provide a coordinated effort to help with the social adaptation of the child to the classroom and to reduce the severity and incidence of behavioral difficulties in the target population.

Considering the two approaches that emerged from the literature (prevention and ecological), the program included all children in the junior and senior kindergarten classrooms, involved three components (Teacher Support, Parental Involvement, and Direct Service to Children), and utilized a multidisciplinary team approach to program development and implementation.

The success of the program depended on fostering a sense of ownership and of teamwork among the teachers, administrators, and resource staff who would be working together, as well as on designing a program to suit the specific needs of the school community. It was clear that a strictly defined program imposed from outside would not be appropriate. Therefore, teams from each of the four schools met separately to identify, for each program component, the needs, goals, and strategies most relevant to their particular settings.

### Teacher Support Component

Traditionally, consultative support for teachers regarding aggressive or behaviorally disordered children has been "case centered"; that is, it has been time-limited and has involved specific prescriptions rather than more general training. A criticism of this support has been that teachers receive "tricks" but lack an understanding of how, when, and why to apply them (Witt & Martens, 1988). The aim of the Teacher Support Component was to provide an alternative — a support model using a *collaborative* or *empowerment* approach (Witt & Martens, 1988) which began with the assumption that teachers were skilled and competent and were able to play an important role in deciding what skills they needed to learn.

Collaborative support for the teachers has occurred through regular classroom visits by resource staff and regularly scheduled team meetings which were attended by teachers, teaching assistants, and various support staff as well as the principal. The team meetings focused on both professional development workshops aimed at teachers as well as problem-solving sessions in which the teachers could discuss specific children of concern. Meetings were scheduled once or twice a month at a convenient time for the teachers.

Simply providing a time for kindergarten teachers to get together on a regular basis to speak among themselves as well as with support staff appears to have been beneficial to the kindergarten program. If, as Sarason (1971) has

stated, teaching is a lonely profession, kindergarten teachers appear to be more isolated than others. For example, kindergarten classes are often set off in a different wing of the school, the teachers do not share recess time with the other staff members, and the kindergarten curriculum is different from that of the other grades in the primary school. The regular KIP team meetings were hypothesized to provide the teachers with a forum to develop a support network and become increasingly comfortable with the school's support staff. This in turn would facilitate the support staff's ability to intervene effectively in the classroom.

There was a diversity of approaches among the schools in achieving the professional development goals. Whereas some schools approached the issue of aggressive behavior by following a prescriptive behavioral program (Barkley, 1987), others participated in theoretical discussions concerning Social Learning Theory (Patterson, 1982) and Attachment Theory (Bowlby, 1973). It became clear that there was not a specific or correct way by which to approach a program goal such as professional development activities for children. The same goal could be accomplished through diverse means depending on the needs and resources of the school team.

The problem-solving meetings provided time for the team to review a great number of children, not only the high need ones, and also, the meetings increased the resource staff's familiarity with the children. Most importantly, meetings regularly provided an opportunity for the team to monitor the effectiveness of suggested interventions and modify programs as necessary.

The continued support that the teachers received from the resource staff may be considered an essential component of the KIP. There was a willingness on the part of teachers to implement new strategies as long as they were provided with appropriate ongoing support. Interventions were developed within the context of the developing teacher-resource staff relationship.

**Parent Involvement Component**

The research literature fully supports the significant and positive impact that parents can have on their children's progress at school and yet this is an area that traditionally has received relatively little attention in schools. The active involvement of parents in school on behalf of their children sets in motion a positive cycle in which parents feel empowered, connected, important, and are better able to meet the challenge of parenting (Seely, 1989). Children who perceive positive parental support as well as alliance between parents and teachers are much more likely to demonstrate positive social attitudes, successful academic performance, and acceptable behavior (Epstein, 1984).

The first goal of this component was therefore to promote the active, positive involvement of the parents in the education and social-emotional development of their children. It was hypothesized that such attempts to involve parents actively in schools are most easily accomplished at the junior kindergarten/senior kindergarten levels. It is a unique feature of children at the kindergarten levels that they are often brought to school and picked up again, significantly increasing opportunities for face-to-face contact with caregivers. In addition, a child's entry into school has been noted to be a "crisis point" in the family life cycle and thus families tend to be more amenable to change (Comer, 1980).

However, one of the major impediments to actively involving parents in the schools has been the perceptions and biases held by teachers and parents.

Whereas teachers approach parents as professional to client through parent-teacher conferences, parent meetings, or even phone calls, parents appreciate educators who communicate frequently and informally as well as solicit their opinions (Lindle, 1989).

In an attempt to address this issue, parents have been included on a less formal basis in this program. A variety of approaches were utilized. For example, in order to provide an opportunity for parents to interact, one school held a puppet-making workshop for parents, teachers, and children. In another school, the format of parent-teacher interviews was changed so that parents were invited to come to the school in small groups rather than individually to observe their children in the classroom, rather than to be "talked to." Parents were given simple outlines to provide some focus to their observation, then the group sat down for a coffee to share their observations and concerns with the teacher.

In another school, a book bag reading program was implemented. All kindergarten children took home a bag of books once a week for parents to read and discuss with their children. Parents were introduced to the idea in fall interviews and signed a contract with the school indicating their involvement. In addition, the method of fostering good reading skills was reviewed in a series of workshops for parents that were offered at flexible hours.

A second goal with regard to parents was to contribute to their knowledge, skills, and repertoire of strategies in the upbringing and nurturing of their children. The traditional manner of meeting this goal has been through the use of parenting programs focusing on child management training. Teaching parenting skills has been identified as the single intervention most likely to be effective in reducing children's behavioral difficulties (Robinson, 1985). However, when invited to attend workshops in child management, parents who are deemed most in need of this guidance invariably choose not to attend. The lack of success which schools have had in offering parent education may be related to a bias in teacher's perception of children's behavioral difficulties: ineffective parenting is the sole contributor. This view is not only simplistic and narrow, it is an imposed "top-down" approach which ignores the contextual factors which must be taken into account when considering how to support parents of children at risk for behavioral difficulties.

In order to be most helpful to parents, the school needs to support them in identifying and addressing issues identified by the parents. Viewed in this wider context, enhancing the growth of parents' knowledge and skills has taken on a number of nontraditional forms in the KIP program. Workshops for parents on topics educators identified as important such as child development and behavior management have been included. However, team members have also facilitated parents' groups to organize babysitting cooperatives and to discuss ways of coping with the day-to-day trials of being a single parent. In this vein, one of the schools has developed a weekly parent drop-in center in which parent babysitting is provided and unstructured discussion is combined with formal presentations.

To summarize, the KIP approach to working with parents deemphasized the concept of parent education and focused instead on mutual cooperation and support as well as open communication. It focused on an on-going process rather than events. It has been found that parents who perceive themselves as competent and respected by school personnel and whose involvement is fostered more generally in the school are more likely to become involved in specific programs identified as being needed by school personnel.

### Direct Service to Children Component

There is a growing body of research linking childhood social competence with psychological adjustment (Asher & Coie, 1990). Recently, schools have addressed this issue. Such programing has usually involved an isolated set of skills and taken place outside of the regular curriculum (Dodge, 1989). However, there is a scarcity of whole classroom-based programs for kindergarten children with the great majority of social skills training programs targeting older, identified children.

The first goal of the Direct Service Component was to offer the social skills training (including initiating and maintaining peer interactions, communicating positively, and negotiating conflict) to all children in the kindergarten classroom rather than to a selected high need population. In this way, an attempt was made to increase generalization to the natural environment (Dodge, 1989) and to prevent stigmatization. The second goal concerned the integration of a social skills program with the present educational philosophy of active learning.

Traditionally, social skills training has involved a direct teaching method in which a teacher or trainer uses a structured manual which focuses on a series of specific skills (Dodge, 1989). This approach has been perceived by educators as being too structured and artificial and in conflict with the goals of active learning. Therefore, in developing a program for an entire class of kindergarten children, a major emphasis was on teaching social skills within the context of the curriculum. That is, skill development was not limited to brief sessions a few times per week but became incorporated within the daily routine of the child. These skills were taught to groups of varying sizes through a variety of means including discussion, role-play, puppets, books, and films.

A social skills manual containing a variety of activities and curriculum-based materials to assist teachers in fostering the social development of their students was developed. The manual is not an organized program; rather, it was provided as a guideline or resource from which teachers may select some part to implement according to the needs of the classroom or her/his teaching style. While feedback regarding the manual has been positive, it became evident that simply providing teachers with written material regarding social skills training was not enough. Many teachers lacked the time to read the manual and also lacked confidence in their ability to employ such techniques as role-playing. What was required was support for the teacher in implementing these ideas in terms of availability of resource staff in the classroom to demonstrate and model using stories and puppets to present social skills concepts.

## EVALUATION

To assist with program design, an ongoing formative research component (Field & Hill, 1988; George, George, & Grosenick, 1990) was included from the initial stages of program development and implementation. Program activities were carefully monitored, and data concerning perceptions of usefulness of the program and suggestions for improvement were collected through the use of a series of focus groups and questionnaires. For the focus groups, all of the kindergarten and junior kindergarten teachers in each school met as one group, and all of the resource staff in each school met as another group. Principals were interviewed individually. Outcome evaluation data will be collected in the second and third years of program implementation to determine changes in student, teacher, and parent behaviors.

Perceived benefits of the KIP program are presented in Table 1. Respondents noted benefits for teachers, parents, and students. The suggestions primarily focused on the need for further support for the teacher (e.g., more opportunities for teachers to consult with other teachers in a cooperative learning model; more opportunities for resource staff to observe and work with the children; and more professional development). It was interesting that these suggestions were consistent with the KIP model rather than indicating the need for a different approach.

**TABLE 1**

*Usefulness of Program as Perceived by Focus Group Participants (Educators)*

| |
|---|
| For Teachers: |
| increased teacher understanding of child behavior |
| changed teacher perceptions of the child |
| provided strategies for dealing with behavior problems |
| helped teachers to analyze problem situations |
| provided support for the teachers so they: |
| - felt more comfortable with the children |
| - were more confident |
| - had more realistic expectations |
| provided structure for consulting |
| provided opportunity for brainstorming and coming together as a group |
| provided strategies for communicating with parents |
| For Parents: |
| provided increased opportunity for parents to meet with the resource staff |
| provided an opportunity for parents to discuss child-related issues |
| provided an opportunity for parents to observe their child in class |
| established a team of parents and teachers working for the benefit of the child, "forging partnerships" |
| For Students: |
| change in several children because of changing teacher perceptions, parent involvement, resource and community support |

The ideas and strategies employed with the KIP are not exceptionally novel nor radical; what is relatively unique to the KIP, however, is that the program was conceived and operates as an integrated model. Research has demonstrated that social skills training, teacher support, and parental involvement have been effective means by which to foster a child's social and emotional development, yet each component in isolation is not enough. The KIP should not be perceived as a collection of specific techniques — that is, it is more than a sum of its parts. Its effectiveness lies in its ecological focus with its stress on a positive social climate in the classroom and a sense of community for parents, children, and students.

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# Tourette Students in the Classroom: Overcoming Educational Obstacles

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**ABSTRACT**

*The purpose of this article is to inform school personnel and others about educational and behavioral programing suggestions for students with Tourette Syndrome. It provides an introduction to the treatment of behavioral characteristics of Tourette Syndrome that teachers can implement in educational settings.*

## Symptomatology and Incidence

In 1885, George Gilles de la Tourette, a French neurologist, described the syndrome that would be named for him in a paper describing tic behavior. The three characteristics of the syndrome are: (a) onset in childhood; (b) multiple motor (e.g., shoulder shrugging, eye blinking) and vocal tic (e.g., throat clearing); and (c) it is a life-long condition. Motor and vocal tics are the hallmark of Tourette Syndrome (TS). Diagnosis is made according to criteria specified in the third edition of the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders-Revised (DSM III-R; APA, 1987). General knowledge of the criteria is helpful to teachers who work with TS students or suspect that a student has TS.

The essence of the diagnosis of TS is the presence of *both* vocal and motor tics occurring at least every day for a period of approximately one year. A motor tic is an abrupt, involuntary, stereotyped movement. These tics occur most frequently in the face and/or shoulder muscles, and also are seen in other parts of the body. The presence of tics tends to wax and wane and vary from dramatic large muscle group tics (e.g., shoulder tics, jumping) to very mild tics (e.g., eye blinking).

A vocal tic is an involuntary noise, such as grunting, tongue clicking, coughing, echolalia (the repetition of spoken words), and coprolalia (the uttering of obscenities). As with motor tics, vocal tics vary in their frequency and magnitude.

An individual may have several tics each day for several months, then a particular tic may disappear followed by the emergence of another tic. The TS student may attempt to disguise the tics via the addition of a voluntary movement (e.g., pretending to scratch one's ear after a shoulder tic), perhaps leading a teacher to believe that the student is not experiencing tics. This, and the variable expression and presence of tics (i.e., they tend to wax and wane), can make it difficult to recognize a student with TS and can result in attributing the TS student's problem behaviors to poor motivation and so forth.

Tics are fairly common in normal students. Barkley (1988) reported that tics occur in approximately 12% of normal children and adolescents. The actual incidence of TS, where the presence of tics is not transient, is difficult to determine, and there is general agreement that it is underdiagnosed (Barkley, 1988). Shapiro and Shapiro (1981) reported an incidence between 1.6 and 2.6% for chronic multiple motor tics and TS in the normal population. Comings (1990)

cited more conservative statistics, suggesting that between 1 to 1,000 and 1 to 1,400 of those children and adolescents with tics meet the full criteria for TS. If a student meets all the other criteria for TS but does not have vocal tics, a diagnosis of Chronic Motor Tic Disorder is appropriate. If vocal tics are evident but not motor tics, the diagnosis is Chronic Vocal Tic Disorder (APA, 1987).

**School Implications**

It appears that the educational problems of students with TS "are not [so much] problems in learning, but problems in demonstrating what they know" (Shady, Fulton, & Champion, 1988, p. 264). Problems related to TS present many barriers to students as they attempt to benefit from instruction. Although tics can be problematic, the tics per se are often not as troubling to the teacher or student as are the difficulties sometimes associated with TS such as poor handwriting, complusive behaviors, hyperactivity, difficulty concentrating, and self-esteem issues. These factors often cause the greatest difficulty for the student. The classroom teacher can play an important role in the development of the TS student's academic and social skills. However, problems arise when teachers are unwilling to program for or make allowances for the various difficulties that can plague the TS student. A possible cause of confusion for the teacher is that the frequency and/or intensity of a TS student's academic performance, impulsivity, and other behaviors may vary considerably from day to day. This may lead teachers to err, believing that the student is lazy or willfully disobedient. Teachers are advised to remember that TS is a disorder of the central nervous system and that TS students do not have voluntary control over some of their actions.

Because TS symptoms are typically first exhibited between the ages of 2 and 16, the disorder can have a profound effect on the schoolage child. The persistence and peculiarity of the tic behavior can inhibit the TS student's ability to learn, disrupt other students in the classroom, invite victimization by classmates, and can result in the exclusion or avoidance of the TS student from positive peer interactions. This assortment of disruption, exclusion, and avoidance can create frustrating behavior management and teaching problems for the teacher. The disturbing result may be social isolation of the TS student and the associated failure to acquire social skills or positive self-esteem (Stefl & Rubin, 1985).

Zarkowska, Crawley, and Locke (1989) reported that tics become worse when a TS student is stressed. The stress of speaking to an audience may aggravate tic behavior to the point that these students avoid participation in class discussions or group situations (Hagin & Kugler, 1988). Test anxiety (e.g., stress from taking timed tests) or drawing attention to a student's tics can also cause stress and an increase in those tics.

Expressive and receptive language disabilities can accompany TS. Perseveration (i.e., asking the same question over and over although the student knows the answer) can be irritating to teachers who do not understand that this is a common symptom in TS. In addition, echolalia (repetition of other individuals' utterances) and paralalia (repetition of one's own words) might be misinterpreted as attention-seeking behaviors (Comings & Comings, 1987).

Learning disabilities can complicate educational programing for students with TS. Harcherik, Carbonari, Shaywitz, Shaywitz, and Cohen (1982) reported that TS students frequently have writing difficulties. TS students wrote fewer let-

ters than normal students in the allotted time. Students with TS frequently have difficulty forming letters, and they may retrace letters numerous times or erase until they tear the paper. Therefore, writing rapidly to keep up with a teacher's lecture or copying from the blackboard may be frustrating for the TS student and they may avoid writing. This often results in insufficient practice to make the task of spelling and other writing skills automatic. Because these fine motor problems impact handwriting speed and legibility, spelling scores can be indirectly affected. A TS student's problems in mathematics or other subjects also can involve handwriting difficulties (e.g., not writing numbers in the correct column).

Obsessive thoughts and compulsive behaviors can present substantial educational and behavioral problems for the student with TS. Obsessive thoughts can cause problems in all academic areas but particularly in the area of reading. A student may complain that her/his thoughts are "racing", thus making it difficult to focus. Compulsive behaviors can also present significant problems. Typical compulsions that can cause problems for the TS student include the need to start again at the beginning of a sentence when a mistake is made, repeat a word, erase errors until there is a hole in the paper, or constantly rearrange papers until they are in the "correct order" (Comings & Comings, 1987).

A TS student's social relationship problems can compound or produce a feeling of failure. Persistence and peculiarity tic behavior can disturb other students, invite victimization, and can result in the student being excluded from or avoiding positive peer interactions. Excessive compulsive touching of other students can severely interfere with social interactions. Compulsive academic behaviors (e.g., constantly rearranging papers) can also lead to ridicule from classmates, further damaging a TS student's self-esteem. Short temper, coprolalia, and copropraxia can exacerbate these problems. TS students may experience social isolation, be ridiculed by peers, or possibly avoid social contact and refuse to attend school. Once self-esteem is damaged, it may take years to rebuild. In contrast, a successful school year can bring a sense of worth and the courage and skills to continue.

**Medications**

Medical management (i.e., medication) of TS symptoms can be an important component in the treatment of a student with TS. However, because educators have control over academic and behavioral interventions but do not prescribe medication, this article focuses on behavioral intervention suggestions while medical management is lightly reviewed in this section. The reader is referred to Comings (1990) for a more thorough review of medical approaches.

An important shift in the understanding of TS occurred in the 1960s when neuroleptics were found to suppress TS symptoms. This discovery helped to clarify that TS is a neuropsychiatric disorder that manifests itself in behavioral symptoms of motor and phonic tics. It also suggested that environmental management be used to lessen the social stigma and academic problems associated with TS and not to attempt a "cure" (Linet, 1985). If the student's tics are mild, medication treatment may not be advised. However, if the tics are disruptive to the classroom or distressing to the student, medication may be necessary. A variety of medications effectively control TS symptoms in some individuals, most notably Haloperidol, Pimozide, and Clonodine (Spiegel, 1989). Use of these medications can be accompanied by side effects and these side effects

can interfere with a student's academic functioning. In order for a teacher to become familiar with the characteristics of the side effects for a student, they should ask the student's physician, the student's parents, and the student.

**Assistance for the Tourette Student**

Although medication can reduce tic frequency and intensity for many TS students, behavioral teaching strategies and procedures complement any medical treatment by providing appropriate academic assistance, social support, and self-esteem building opportunities to the student with TS. We have found that a teacher can use the following approaches to help the TS student experience school as a *positive* experience rather than one of failure and frustration. References are given when available but the reader is advised that there is limited empirical support for these suggestions.

1. *Educate students and staff about Tourette Syndrome.* This will help eliminate misunderstandings by school personnel and ridicule by peers. Pamphlets can be obtained from the local Tourette Syndrome Association or from headquarters at 41-02 Bell Boulevard, Bayside, NY 11361, (718) 224-2999.

2. *Special education services.* Special education may be essential in aiding the TS student. These services, such as individualized programing in a resource room, will enable the student to receive not only the academic assistance and support needed but also the structured environment which can be crucial for many TS students. A TS student's classroom performance typically improves with structure and individualized assistance. The unique educational needs of the student should be targeted rather than TS as a disorder (Bauer & Shea, 1984). Collins and Fisher (no date) suggest using the *otherwise health impaired* (OHI/PL94-142) for possible special services placement if the TS student is not classified under the *learning disabled* classification.

3. *Peer tutors.* Tutors may be helpful when one-to-one assistance is needed for note taking, academic aid, or a review of material. Levitt (1988-1989) suggested that peer tutors use carbon paper when taking notes, thus eliminating the need to recopy the notes. Peer tutors can provide excellent models for the development of age-appropriate social skills and often serve as advocates and friends of the TS student outside the classroom.

4. *Reduction of noise.* Background noises can be distracting for students with TS and *attention deficit hyperactivity disorder* (ADHD). Placement in special small classes usually alleviates this problem. Alternatively, asking the TS student to sit in a quieter section of the room, although perhaps not in the front row, may be helpful. Teachers should be careful not to isolate the student inadvertently in attempting to reduce the impact of classroom noise.

5. *Reduction of timed tests.* Timed tests are often a problem for TS students who have poor reading ability, poor retention, and increased tics because of text anxiety. In these cases, teachers should consider not requiring timed tests for a grade. Alternately, testing strategies might require the TS student to demonstrate mastery of a concept rather than repeatedly demonstrating the procedure.

6. *Reduction of workload.* Reducing the length or number of assignments may lower a TS student's stress level and possibly the number of tics exhibited. Cutting a math assignment in half, for example, would alleviate much pressure and cause for panic. Levitt (1988-1989) recommends assigning every other question or problem to students who understand the concept but work slowly.

7. *Alternative methods.* A number line, times table chart, or calculator can be helpful for those students who experience difficulty with math such as difficulty memorizing multiplication tables. The tape recording of lectures may be beneficial because many TS students have problems with spelling and writing. Additionally, the TS student might be allowed to tape record homework assignments to alleviate excessive writing demands. Computers may also serve to decrease writing demands while allowing the TS student to produce the required work. Although use of computers has been beneficial and rewarding for some students, the computer should not be the sole writing instrument. The use of paper and pencil should be judiciously used to help the student develop and maintain a wider repertoire of writing skills. It is unrealistic to think that the student will always have access to a computer.

8. *Room to move.* When possible, the TS student should be allowed to leave the room when symptoms become intensified. For instance, the TS student might go to the library, resource room, or any private area where the expression of the tics will not be a source of social stigma or ridicule. Usually the student feels frustrated and embarrassed when required to remove her/himself from the classroom. If the teacher notices the tics or other negative behaviors increasing, one option is to send the student on an errand. This would allow her/him to leave the classroom during the expression of tics and to relax. By giving the student a job, two purposes have been met: (a) reduction of stress, and (b) possible improvement in self-esteem by assisting the teacher.

9. *Timing is critical.* TS students may need additional time to complete assignments. Early warnings about time limits are beneficial even when the workload has been adjusted (Hagin, Beecher, Kreeger, & Pagano, 1980).

10. *Testing cautions.* A) Formal test results can over- or underestimate what the student is capable of accomplishing in the classroom. Overestimation might occur because individualized testing is performed in a quiet setting. This helps provide a more accurate estimate of ability. However, it can fail to detect performance problems common in TS students with ADHD that occurs when they attempt to function in a large classroom with numerous impinging stimuli. Formal testing can also underestimate the classroom performance of a TS student due to test anxiety.

B) Modifying administration procedures of formal in-class achievement tests may be necessary. This is particularly apparent with group tests where the student is required to work independently for a sustained period. Caution should be used in interpreting results of standardized educational achievement tests when procedures have been changed. Clearly, interpreting formal test results requires consideration of all relevant validity factors.

To gain optimum performance from a TS student, a teacher should consider administering important examinations in a different manner. A private test setting would reduce the stress and possibly the number of tics a student might have while taking the test. When testing the middle or high school student in an in-class testing setting, the test sessions might not be timed and the student might be allowed to take a break between subtests. This helps alleviate the stress TS students often experience in testing situations. Although students with disabilities are entitled to an adjustment of test time requirements (Favish, 1990), altering the procedure for standardized tests such as the Scholastic Aptitude Test (SAT), must be approached with caution so as not to invalidate the results.

## CONCLUSION

The expression of symptoms and the prognosis for students with Tourette Syndrome is variable. This presents a major challenge for teachers. The educator's goal should be to help make school a fulfilling experience for the TS student by providing appropriate modeling, a nonthreatening structured learning environment, and creative and supportive programing. With teacher knowledge of the disorder coupled with appropriate educational and behavioral programing, a TS student's school experience can play a significant role in academic and social skills development.

For students with TS, education takes on a special importance. Not only does schooling play a significant role in the TS student's skill building and socialization but it can also be a major influence on her/his adjustment in adult life. Teachers are advised to remember that TS is a disorder of the central nervous system and that TS students do not have voluntary control over some of their actions.

Teachers can play an important role in helping TS students learn to compensate for the disorder, fostering the psychosocial and educational success of TS students in the classroom through flexible programing and sensitivity. This will, in turn, pave the road to a full and productive life.

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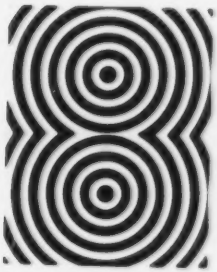

# Social Skills and Social Competence

# Social Competency, Mainstreaming, and Children with Serious Behavioral Disorders

Nancy B. Meadows

**ABSTRACT**

*If we are to help students with serious behavioral disorders be more successful in mainstream classrooms, we need to use a model of instruction that reflects the child's needs and the demands of the environment. A proposed curriculum for teaching students social skills within social situations and tasks that are relevant to the mainstream setting and linked to social goals is discussed. Assessment of the impact of improved social competence on successful mainstreaming is discussed around the notions of environmental accommodations (changes made in the classroom) and assimilation (the incorporation of the child into the classroom setting).*

Children with serious behavioral disorders are particularly at risk for social failure in mainstream settings. Observation studies have suggested that seriously behaviorally disordered students spend more time in solitary play and less time interacting socially with their peers (Walker & Rankin, 1983).

It has been well documented through the use of sociometric measures that the quality of peer relationships for seriously behaviorally disordered students is poor (Kupersmidt, Patterson, & Griesler, 1988; Sabornie & Kauffman, 1985; Semmel, Gottlieb, & Robinson, 1979). Sabornie and Kauffman (1985) assessed the sociometric status of seriously behaviorally disordered students in physical education classes and found that, in comparison to matched nonhandicapped cohorts, the seriously behaviorally disordered students were rated lower in sociometric status. Kupersmidt, Patterson, and Griesler (1988) compared the relative likelihood of peer rejection for students with behavioral disorders, learning disabilities, mental retardation, severe handicaps, and nonhandicapped students among grade-level peers. They found that students with behavioral disorders were three times more likely to be rejected than nonhandicapped students and twice as likely as students with learning disabilities or mental retardation.

Results from sociometric measures have led researchers to conclude that peer rejection may operate as a serious impediment to the successful integration of seriously behaviorally disordered students into mainstream settings (Lloyd, Kauffman, & Kupersmidt, in press). This should come as no surprise. Gresham reported in 1983 that our notions of mainstreaming were misguided — that merely placing handicapped students in environments with nonhandicapped students did not increase their social interactions with these students and did not increase the acceptance of handicapped students by their nonhandicapped peers. In a 1986 review of social skills research with students with behavioral disorders, Schloss and colleagues (Schloss, Schloss, Wood, & Kiehl, 1986) reported that researchers seldom demonstrate the social significance of any change in social competency and seldom assess the generalization effects to settings other than the training setting. The development of social

skills may be one of the most critical needs of students with behavioral disorders. This need appears to remain an issue even after these students are mainstreamed into general education classes.

As educators, one or our goals should be to enable students to develop and maintain social relationships throughout their educational experience. For students with behavioral disorders, the educational experience quite often includes both special and general education settings. Our attempts to facilitate the transition between general and special education settings includes teaching students various social skills. Intervention goals are selected on the basis of the general needs of students with behavioral disorders (Schloss et al., 1986). If the data reported in the literature are accurate, our current approaches to teaching social competency will have to be reevaluated and refined and new approaches explored. Along with improving our methods of instruction, we will need to examine how we assess the impact of improved social competency on the successful mainstreaming of seriously behaviorally disordered students into general education settings.

The purpose of this article is twofold. First, it will briefly describe the framework that a University of Washington research group is using to develop an instructional program for teaching social competency. Second, it will suggest that the impact of improved social competence be assessed using the notions of environmental accommodations (changes made in the classroom) and assimilation (the incorporation of the child into the classroom setting).

Instructing social competency is not a simple task, in part because social competency is a complex notion. Many researchers in education, psychology, and mental health have contributed to the tremendous increase in our knowledge of social competency. The current line of research of Neel and his colleagues (Neel, Jenkins, & Meadows, 1990; Neel, Meadows, & Scott, 1990) has focused on expanding Dodge's (1985) notion of social task. To summarize, these authors have hypothesized that social behavior includes a specific social context (setting, cast of persons, time frame, general situation), a social goal or outcome (e.g., attention, affiliation, acceptance, power), a social task (the problem a child faces when trying to achieve a social goal), and a behavior (social skills or a series of behaviors used in particular situations). Each element (context, task, behavior, and outcome) is an integral part of the complex notion of social behavior. The cornerstone of this concept is the belief that social behavior can be conceptualized as occurring in response to specific social tasks. Within this framework, a socially competent person would be one who achieved her/his desired social goal in a particular situation using social skills or behaviors judged as appropriate by others.

The social behavior model that has been described above provides some implications regarding the instruction of social competency. First, social skills need to be taught in the context of social tasks and situations that are relevant to children. Second, the social skills that are taught must meet children's social goals. This will require a closer examination of educational environments, the social tasks children face in these environments, and the behaviors they use when faced with these tasks, as well as children's social goals. An initial list of social tasks and situations generated by teachers, related service personnel, experts in the field of behavioral disorders, and students has been previously reported (Neel et al., 1990). These tasks and situations are thought to represent a subset of tasks and situations which might be problematic for socially incom-

petent children. Children's performances in these various situations may predict social competency in school settings. For a complete list of these social tasks and situations, the reader is referred to Neel, Meadows, and Scott (1990).

Describing the social tasks and situations that children face in school settings is only a first step. The social skills used by typically developing students will have to be identified. This research is currently underway. The results will provide us with information regarding the social skills required in various problematic social situations. These skills and behaviors will then serve as a basis for instruction. Children will be taught behaviors within the context of situations that are relevant to them and linked to their social goals. Our instructional objectives, then, would be directed toward teaching students to successfully negotiate a set of school-related tasks.

The process of designing an instructional curriculum includes first deciding what to teach and how to teach it, and then determining if that teaching has any effect. We have speculated as to what to teach (social competency) and how to teach it (new behaviors within relevant situations and tasks, linked to social goals or outcomes). We are left with the issue of assessing the impact of what is taught. How are we to assess the efficacy of our instruction? Can we determine whether an increase in social competency has an effect on successful mainstreaming? In order to answer these questions, we will need to take at least a brief look at the rather complex issue of mainstreaming.

Mainstreaming refers to the practice of integrating handicapped students socially and academically into general education settings as much as possible. Educators typically use the terms *mainstream setting* and *integrated setting* interchangeably. According to Webster's dictionary, integration is defined as "the organization of organic, psychological, or social traits and tendencies of a personality into a harmonious whole" and mainstreaming is defined as "placing a handicapped student in regular school classes." It is not this author's purpose to redefine either mainstreaming or integration but to incorporate both definitions in an effort to reframe how we look at mainstreaming and how we assess the impact of mainstreaming on children.

Typically, we attempt to facilitate mainstreaming by teaching children the social, academic, and/or study skills that teachers value (Gresham, 1983; Gresham & Elliott, 1988; Kerr & Zigmond, 1986) or by focusing on matching the handicapped child to the most effective environment by examining teacher expectations and tolerances, peer relationships, and student behavior (Lloyd et al., in press). A student is placed in a general education setting if s/he "fits in" academically and socially (Truesdale, 1988, 1990). Success is measured by how much the handicapped child is similar to her/his nonhandicapped cohort, measured by teacher ratings and naturalistic observations, or by how much the handicapped child is accepted by nonhandicapped peers, measured by sociometrics. Students exhibiting problem behaviors (academic or social) will remain in the general education setting if those behaviors can be changed or reduced using traditional methods and existing rules.

Currently, we mainstream those students who fit academically and socially into existing environments. Mainstreaming, however, should be based on the individual needs of the student, not just concern for the existing environment. Meeting the individual needs of students with behavioral disorders should include more than adapting the student to the environment; it should also include adapting the environment to meet individual needs. It is very possible

that, in addition to instructing children to become more academically and/or socially competent, some environmental accommodations must be made. The view of mainstreaming purported by this author regards mainstreaming as a concept which incorporates the impact the child has on the environment, the extent to which the environment accommodates the needs of the handicapped student, and the extent to which the handicapped student is assimilated into the environment. Assessing whether a child is successful in a mainstream setting will include looking at the degree to which the child fits or is incorporated into the environment as well as any accommodations made for the child.

To determine whether an increase in social competency has an effect on successful mainstreaming, it is necessary to incorporate the notions of assimilation and accommodation discussed above into our assessment model. First, it is imperative that we establish that the child has acquired the skills necessary to negotiate successfully problematic social situations within the classroom. This may be accomplished through traditional measures such as role-plays, teacher rating scales, and direct observation. Next, we can explore the impact of social skills instruction on assimilation by asking whether the child's increased ability has resulted in an increased acceptance by the teacher and by peers. This may be assessed using traditional measures such as peer ratings and peer nominations, teacher ratings, and direct observation. At this point, we are concerned primarily with the degree to which the child is accepted by others in the mainstream classroom.

The model being discussed begins to differ from existing models, however, with the notion of assessing instructional accommodations in the classroom. It has been suggested by Ysseldyke, Thurlow, Wotruba, and Nania (1990) that we need to learn more about how students with handicaps are spending their time in mainstream classes. For students with behavioral disorders, this will require a close examination of the instructional accommodations general education teachers use for seriously behaviorally disordered students in mainstream settings. Accommodations may be academic ones such as curriculum adaptations or a change in curriculum materials, shortening the length of assignments, and/or lengthening time for assignments. Other accommodations may include a change in or an addition to a classroom behavior management system, and/or a change in instructional strategies such as the inclusion of peer tutoring or more individual seatwork.

In order to complete our assessment of the impact of improved social competency on the successful mainstreaming of seriously behaviorally disordered students, we need to ask two questions. Does the child's increased ability to successfully negotiate social situations alter a teacher's instructional style (e.g., more/less group instruction; more/less individual seatwork; more/less peer-assisted instruction? And does the child's increased ability in negotiating social situations impact a teacher's classroom management techniques (e.g., same/different class rules; same/different reinforcers; same/different self-management strategies)?

In conclusion, if we are to help children with serious behavioral disorders to be more successful in mainstream settings, it is imperative that we use a model of instruction that reflects the child's needs and the demands of the environment. The success of seriously behaviorally disordered students in integrated mainstream settings depends upon our ability to develop an instructional program to teach social competency and our ability to develop a system for

assessing the impact of improved social competency. It is critical that we do not assume that seriously behaviorally disordered students who are mainstreamed are socially competent and no longer in need of instruction in that area. Future work is needed to develop a curriculum for instructing students in social competency that includes teaching students new social skills within relevant social situations and linked to social goals. Assessment is an integral and ongoing part of any instruction. Our future efforts in developing assessments to measure the impact of social skills instruction on successful mainstreaming will be framed around the degree to which the environment accommodates the individual needs of the child and the degree to which the child is assimilated into the mainstream integrated classroom setting.

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# Identification of Critical Social Skills and Social Competence for Children With Behavioral Disorders

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**ABSTRACT**

*Identification of critical social skills for children needs to be given considerable attention if educators are to assist children in becoming socially competent. This article addresses the issue of using effective assessment techniques to pinpoint children's deficits in social competence. A number of techniques and instruments for evaluating social competence are reviewed. These instruments and techniques include sociometric measures, ratings by others, self-report measures, and behavioral observation techniques. Research examples are provided which demonstrate use of these assessment strategies in identifying critical social skills in children with behavioral disorders.*

Few topics in recent literature on children's peer relations have received more interest than the topics of social competence and training in critical social skills. The literature is replete with studies which focus on how children interact with each other and the effect these interactions have on their ability to get along with their peers. The literature in this area is consistent in one finding: children who are rejected or neglected by their peers and who fail to make friends while they are young are at risk for future adjustment problems (Asher & Renshaw, 1981; Bierman & Furman, 1984; Guralnick, 1986; Ladd & Asher, 1985). Unfortunately, a number of elementary-aged and high school-aged children fail to acquire any friends or have only a few friends (Gronlund, 1959; Putallaz & Gottman, 1981). Because this fact is of considerable concern to a number of professionals who work with children, numerous attempts have been made to identify factors important to social competence. Being socially skillful has been identified consistently in regard to children's successful relationships with others.

The purpose of this article is to share empirically-based information on the identification of critical social skills needed by children in school environments. The information is based on an extensive review of the literature on social skills and a study conducted with 26 children with disabilities and 300 of their nondisabled peers in an integrated school setting. Techniques are described which allow for local norms to be established to determine which social skills are most important in particular school environments. These techniques include ratings by teachers and others, behavioral template procedures, and naturalistic observations. Emphasis is placed on the need to socially validate social skills taught to children through identification of critical skills and through identification of specific skills deficits in children.

## Targeting Social Skills for Intervention Assessment of Social Skills

Assessment information is essential in making decisions about which skills need to be taught to children who demonstrate problems in social competence. Educators often have relied solely on subjective information to make decisions about which social skills to teach children and the results often have lead to children wasting time learning things they already knew or didn't need to learn. Consequently, even though children received social skills training, they did not improve in sociometric status or in the quality of interpersonal relations. A number of investigators have identified assessment instruments and techniques which are designed to identify social behaviors that are critical to peer/adult relations in a variety of situations. Several of these instruments and techniques are reviewed.

Social skills assessment methods which are frequently used include (a) sociometrics, (b) ranking methods, (c) ratings by others, (d) behavioral role-play tasks, (e) self-report, (f) naturalistic observation, and (g) self-monitoring (Foster & Ritchey, 1985; Gresham, 1986; Gresham, Elliott, & Black, 1987; Kerr & Nelson, 1989; Maag, 1989; McConnell & Odom, 1986; McMahon, 1989; Melloy, 1990; Strain, Guralnick, & Walker, 1986). Assessment in the area of social competence is typically employed either to diagnose deficit skills or to target prosocial skills for intervention. In general, approaches such as sociometric measures, ratings by others, self-report, and behavioral role-plays appear to be more useful for selection/diagnosis purposes. Other approaches (e.g., behavioral interview, naturalistic observations, peer assessment, and self-monitoring) are reported to assist in targeting skills for intervention (Bem & Fender, 1978; Gresham, 1986; Hoier & Cone, 1980; Strain, Odom, & McConnell, 1984). Specific assessment procedures are described below.

### Sociometric Measures

Various sociometric techniques have been used to examine the social status, social competence, and/or acceptance level of children and youth among their peers. The most commonly used sociometric assessment methods are peer nomination and peer ratings (Hops & Lewin, 1984; Martin, 1988; McConnell & Odom, 1986). Peer assessments are also described in sociometric literature as they are often used in crossmethod comparison studies (McConnell & Odom, 1986).

*Peer nomination.* Peer nomination has become the most commonly applied sociometric assessment method (McConnell & Odom, 1986). Developed by Moreno (1934), peer nomination requires children to select one or more classmates with whom they would or would not like to engage in an activity (e.g., play with, hang out with, work with). Generally, social status scores are derived by adding the numbers of choices a child receives. Scores derived from such measures indicate levels of popularity or acceptance and are designed to identify the *stars* in a class, those frequently nominated on positive criteria; the *isolates*, those not nominated frequently on positive criteria; and the *rejectees*, those frequently nominated on negative criteria (Ollendick & Hersen, 1984, p. 127).

*Peer rating.* The peer rating method of sociometric assessment involves the use of a Likert-type rating scale. Children are asked to rate each class member along a continuum of attraction-rejection (Hops & Lewin, 1984; McConnell & Odom, 1986). Typically, raters are given a class roster, read each classmate's

name, and are asked to rate the classmate according to how much they like or dislike to play with or work with the child. Individual scores for peer ratings are generally calculated as the sum of numerical ratings provided by all other members of the group (McConnell & Odom, 1986). For example, a peer rating scale was administered to measure social status in a study conducted with 350 elementary-aged children (Melloy, 1990). The format of the peer rating instrument included a roster of each classroom and a four-point Likert-type scale following each child's name. Points on the continuum indicated "like to play with a lot," "just kind of like to play with," "do not like to play with," and "I don't know this person." Ratings were assigned a weighted value (i.e., like to = 3; just kind of like.= 2; do not like = 1; and don't know this person = 0). The sum of the ratings was calculated and yielded an overall social status score. Scores were ranked to reveal the relative social standing of each child in the class as suggested by McConnell and Odom (1986). Children were given a class roster, asked to read each classmate's name, and asked to rate each classmate according to how much they liked or disliked playing with the child.

Peer ratings tend to result in higher reliability and stability coefficients when compared to peer nominations (McConnell & Odom, 1986). The major advantages for using the peer rating technique compared to peer nomination include: (a) every child in the class is rated, (b) higher test-retest reliability over time, and (c) more sensitive to subtle changes in social status depending on criteria used (Hops & Lewin, 1984; McConnell & Odom, 1986). A disadvantage of the peer rating method is that children, especially younger children, may tend to rate most classmates in the middle of the scale or to give everyone in the class the same rating (McConnell & Odom, 1986).

Educators who use sociometric techniques to assess the social status of children need to use caution when they administer sensitive measures of this type. Telling the children beforehand that this is very private information between them and the caregiver and allowing them privacy (e.g., move desks) to complete the questionnaire will diminish the fears children may express that their classmates will know how they have rated each other. The educator in turn needs to use the information in a professional manner and respect that privacy. Sociometric measures can provide useful information with regard to how children are perceived by their peers (e.g., popular, unpopular, rejected, isolated). However, if educators do not exercise caution when administering such measures, they run the risk of hurt feelings and damaged self-esteem among their students. Sociometric techniques have proven effective in screening individuals in need of social skills training to improve social competence.

*Peer assessment.* The peer assessment method is often referred to as a measure of social status although it differs from sociometric measures. Peer assessment techniques require children to judge their peer's behavior whereas sociometric methods require children to make judgments about their feelings toward peers. Peer assessment procedures are often combined with sociometric measures to provide information about a child's relationships with peers and have been used to examine variables that contribute to or affect sociometric status (McConnell & Odom, 1986). In a peer assessment, children are asked to nominate or rate classmates according to a variety of behavioral criteria. Generally, children are given descriptions of children and each child "guesses" who in the class best fits the descriptions. The number of nominations for positive and negative measures are computed to yield a qualitative score (i.e., positive or

negative). The most popular peer assessments include *The Guess Who? Test* (Agard, Veldman, Kaufman, Semmel, & Walters, undated), *The Shapiro Sociometric Role Assignment Test* (Shapiro & Sobel, 1981), and *The Class Play* (Bower, 1960).

Coie, Dodge, and Coppotelli (1982) used peer assessment to measure types of behavior that contributed to social status of children in regular classrooms. They found that behaviors that seemed to correlate with social preference were cooperativeness, supportiveness, and physical attractiveness. Social preference was negatively related to disruptiveness and aggression.

Another peer assessment technique that has been used to measure social competence is the behavioral template approach (Bem & Fender, 1978; Hoier & Cone, 1987; Strain et al., 1984). This procedure requires children identified as rejected (i.e., through sociometric techniques) to identify hopeful playmates (i.e., the rejected child nominates a peer with whom s/he would like to play but doesn't play with). These hopeful playmates are asked through formal peer assessment to identify the types of behavior that they like about children with whom they play. Hoier and Cone (1987) developed a behavioral template using formal peer assessments consisting of 50 behavioral descriptions that the hopeful playmate sorted into like my friend/not like my friend categories. The behaviors identified in the behavioral template were compared to the behaviors observed in rejected children. Hoier and Cone suggest that discrepancies between the behavioral template and the target child's actual behavior could be used for social skills interventions.

The behavioral template approach was used in a study conducted by Melloy (1990) to determine critical social skills in four elementary schools with children who were identified as being rejected by their peers. Following identification of deficits in these critical skills among the children, intervention in the form of social skills training took place. Treatment resulted in the rejected children becoming more competent in demonstrating critical social skills and a slight increase in interactions with their more popular peers.

### Ranking Methods

Ranking methods have been used to select children for social skills training programs (Gresham, 1986). Ranking methods require teachers to rank order children in their classes based on behavioral (e.g., disruptive, aggressive, talks the least) or nonbehavioral (e.g., best liked, fewest friends) criteria. Teacher rankings have been found to correspond relatively well to observed behaviors such as frequency of interactions and on-task behavior (Greenwood, Walker, & Hops, 1977). However, this method has failed to identify socially withdrawn children since withdrawn behaviors are usually not perceived as being problematic (Hops & Greenwood, 1981). Therefore, rankings are primarily useful for identifying children at the extremes of a criterion and for social validation purposes (Gresham, 1986).

### Ratings by Others

Ratings by others are scales which are completed by teachers and peers that yield information that is useful in identifying target behaviors that may be correlates of important social outcomes such as peer acceptance and rejection (Gresham, 1986).

*Teacher rating scales.* Walker and McConnell (1988) developed a teacher

rating scale of student social competence and school adjustment. Designed for use in the screening and identification of social skills deficits among children in kindergarten through sixth grade, *The Walker-McConnell Scale of Social Competence and School Adjustment* (1988) consists of 43 positively worded descriptions of social skills which are designed to sample two primary adjustment domains within school settings: adaptive behavior and social competence. These descriptions are distributed across three subscales (two subscales measure interpersonal social skills with adults or peers while the other subscale measures the adaptive behavior required for success in the classroom) and are rated by the teacher on a five-point Likert scale ranging from "never occurs" to "frequently occurs." The instrument yields three factor scores (i.e., Subscale 1: 16 items, teacher-preferred social behavior; Subscale 2: 17 items, peer-preferred social behavior; Subscale 3: 10 items, school adjustment behavior) and a composite score of social competence.

*Parents, teachers, and others.* Other rating instruments are available that produce factor scores designed to assess social competence in children and youth. One of the most popular and well normed of these instruments is the *Child Behavior Checklist* (CBCL) (Achenbach & Edelbrock, 1983). The CBCL generates a factor score of social competence for children aged 2 through 16. Forms are available for parents, teachers, and the child to complete by rating questions about behavior, involvement with others, and school type skills.

Ratings by others have proven effective as screening devices which supply a piece of information in the assessment process of children who demonstrate deficits in social competence. Instruments such as the Walker-McConnell provide information on specific skill deficits a child may demonstrate but that information is useful only when it is considered as part of an assessment package for the evaluation of social competence.

Once a child has been identified as having deficits in social competence, it is necessary to pinpoint target behaviors for intervention. The following instruments and techniques provide additional information that will assist caregivers in planning for intervention once screening data have been collected.

**Self-Report Measures**

These evaluations of children's social skills are not used as frequently as other assessment techniques because of their subjectivity and lack of criterion-related validity (Gresham, 1986). Most self-report measures were originally developed to assess adult social functioning. Therefore, Becker and Heimberg (1988) caution against their use with children unless readability levels are found to be within the child's scope of ability. Gresham (1986) stated that self-report measures have not demonstrated predictive validity with peer acceptance, peer popularity, teacher ratings of social skills, role-play performance, or social behavior in naturalistic settings. At best, self-report measures could provide a piece of information in a total assessment package (Becker & Heimberg, 1988; Gresham, 1986).

The Student Self-Rating provided in the program forms of *Skillstreaming the Elementary School Child* (McGinnis & Goldstein, 1984) is a self-rating procedure for identifying a child's social skills. This 60-item checklist requires the child to rate her/himself on a Likert-type scale on specific social skills and how much or how little the behavioral description is like her/him. Sasso, Melloy, and Kavale (1990) used this instrument along with a teacher rating and naturalistic

observation to identify social skills deficits in a group of children with behavioral disorders. The information gained from the Student Self-Rating in conjunction with other assessment information w.. effective in identifying skills deficits which led to treatment via social skills training. Children demonstrated an increased use of appropriate social skills and some generalization of the skills following treatment.

**Naturalistic Ob rvations**

Naturalistic observ tions or behavioral observations of children in naturalistic settings is "the most face-valid method of assessing children's social skills" (Asher & Hymel, 1981, p. 136). Naturalistic observations have been used in numerous studies to identify children in need of social skills interventions, to target social behaviors for intervention, and to measure treatment outcomes (e.g., Asher, Markell, & Hymel, 1981; Bierman & Furman, 1984; Dodge, Coie, & Brakke, 1982; Gresham, 1981; Hartup, Glazier, & Charlesworth, 1967; LaGreca & Santogrossi, 1980; McMahon, 1989; Melloy, 1990). In addition, a number of studies have found a significant positive relationship between sociometric acceptance and positive interactions with peers, while negative interactions with peers were found to correlate with rejection (e.g., Gottman, Gonso, & Rasmussen, 1975; Gresham, 1981; Putallaz & Gottman, 1981).

Melloy (1990) used direct observation of peer interactions among children with and without disabilities to provide data which assisted in the development of social skills interventions for children with disabilities. The author identified critical social skills using the behavioral template approach, and then using a formal observation method, assessed discrepancies between the behavioral template and the target child's actual behavior. These data, along with information from a teacher rating, peer rating, and peer assessment, resulted in information on social skills deficits targeted for intervention. Behavioral observations were made using paper and pencil recording methods. Target behavior codes, which included peer interaction and template behaviors, were defined using information from the teacher's ratings of social competence and peer assessments. Target students' and peers' rate and quality of interaction behaviors were coded. Observations were made during the school day when students were expected to interact with peers (e.g., lunch, recess). A minimum of three 10-minute observations were conducted on each of 22 target students using a 6-second observe, 4-second record, partial interval recording system. Generalization probes of each child's social competence level were obtained across settings (e.g., library, lunchroom) and with peers other than those targeted for intervention. The results indicate that the target students demonstrated very low levels of critical social skills behavior during baseline. Following treatment, however, all but one of the target students demonstrated higher levels of social competence as measured by direct observation and teacher ratings.

Hoge (1985) presented an extensive study regarding the validity of direct observation measures of children's classroom behavior. He was able to find consistent support for the validity of direct observation measures. In addition to being the most face-valid assessment method available, behavioral observations provide information on actual peer/adult exchanges which minimize subjective bias, demonstrate sensitivity to intervention effects, and are more conducive to frequently repeated measures. These factors are considered advantages of naturalistic observation of social behaviors.

Limitations of naturalistic observations include (a) cost in time and money, and (b) insufficient information regarding the nature of difficulties in social skills, normative levels of behavior, or the importance of various social behaviors in interpersonal relationships. Some of these limitations are based on the fact that very little data exist which examine the predictive and social validity of observation codes.

Asher and various colleagues (1981) examined rate of peer interaction to determine if naturalistic observations of rate of interactions provided sufficient information on the social skills of withdrawn children. They concluded that rate of interaction observations failed to provide information with regard to peer acceptance and quality of interactions. Because of this, children may be selected for intervention who do not differ in social skills from those with higher interaction rates. They further stated that this limitation of naturalistic observation could be eliminated if investigators focused observations on the rate of interactions and the quality of children's interactions, and examined acceptance levels.

Despite these shortcomings, however, naturalistic observations will continue to be an important method to use in targeting social skills for intervention and assessing treatment outcomes of social skills training programs because naturalistic observations can provide a functional analysis of behaviors in a natural setting at the time the behavior occurs. In addition, these observations play a critical role in the understanding of children's social behavior and offer a reliable way to access correlates of acceptance.

## SUMMARY

It is important that children who are deficit in social competence receive social skills training so that they are able to make friends and get along with others in their environment. Children who are not socially competent can be predicted to experience negative social outcomes as children and into adulthood.

Identification of the critical social skills needed by children to be considered as socially competent by their peers and others deserves considerable attention. It is imperative that educators systematically assess the needs of children prior to making decisions about which social skills to teach. By far the most effective methods for assessment of social competence are sociometric measures, ratings by others, self-rating measures, and naturalistic observations. Sociometric measures and ratings by others appear to be best used for screening purposes; self-rating measures and naturalistic observations provide the best clues for intervention once children have been identified as needing social skills intervention. These methods are reported in the literature to provide essential information concerning children's social skills needs and deficits in social competence.

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# The Social Ecology of Adolescents Receiving Special Education Services: School and Interpersonal Contexts

Edison J. Trickett, Kathleen D. Schmid, and Peter E. Leone

In recent years increasing attention has been directed toward understanding how youth with disabling conditions make significant life transitions (Walker & Calkins, 1986). Of particular concern has been the transition from high school and its associated specialized services to the post-high school world of work, further education, and community living (Neel, Meadows, Levine, & Edgar, 1988). The emphasis on such transitions has shifted attention from the qualities of youth per se to an assessment of how their school experiences and social networks can facilitate later adaptation. For example, Hasazi, Gordon, and Roe (1985) found that informal networks have played a significant job-finding role for special education high school graduates. Similarly, Neel et al. (1988) found that more than two-thirds of former special education students with behavioral disorders did not use formal agencies or service providers in finding post-high school employment.

The strong implication of such work is that attention should be directed toward understanding ecological influences on the lives and options of these adolescents. Conceptually, however, much of the research on youth with disabilities has been driven by a micro- or person-centered focus that examines child or adolescent characteristics, the services received, and specific individual outcomes (Leone, 1990). Such a perspective tends to minimize the role of the social context. Consequently, data on the social ecology of these youth are limited.

In contrast to these person-based investigations, the project described in the present article, "Networks as Resources for Youth with Disabilities," adopts a social ecological orientation to understanding the transition from high school to the world beyond. A social ecological perspective focuses on the nature of important social contexts in the adolescent's life and her/his relationship to those contexts. The "Networks" project applies this perspective in a longitudinal study which follows a cohort of high school seniors receiving special education services through their first year after graduation. Data were collected at three points in time: (a) during spring of students' senior year, (b) 6 months after graduation, and (c) 12 months after graduation. The current report focuses on the assessment instruments and data developed during the first year of the project when the students were completing their senior year of high school. In subsequent reports longitudinal analyses will be described.

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### The Social Ecology of Adolescents Receiving Special Education Services

As previously stated, an ecological perspective directs attention to an assessment of contexts and the adolescent in context. In the "Networks" project, the researchers emphasized two aspects of the adolescent's ecology which have substantial impact on current experiences and future plans: (a) the school, and (b) the adolescent's social network and support system. The school is a place not only for learning but for the development of relationships which can provide comfort, advice, and support around both academic and personal issues. The social network extends beyond the school to include family members, neighborhood friends, and other adults of potential importance to the adolescent. Together, the school and the social network provide contexts which greatly influence the nature of the adolescent experience. The special needs of adolescents receiving special education services heighten their importance.

Initial data collection focused on ways of assessing both the school experience and the social networks of adolescents in special education placements. The goals of such assessments were to understand the social world in which they lived, the kinds of resources they had available to them, and to contrast their social networks with a comparison group of high school seniors not receiving special services. It was hoped that this data would not only provide a series of potential predictors of this group's later adaptation after leaving high school but could provide information of practical value to special educators.

## THE WORLD OF SCHOOL

In attempting to understand the high school experience of special education students, the research group focused on (a) the classroom, and (b) the ways in which special education teachers spent time outside of class providing help and support to students. Together, these aspects of school can exert significant influence in students' lives.

### The Classroom Experience

In assessing the classroom experience, the researchers were particularly concerned about understanding it through the perceptions of students in the class. Such an approach stems from the belief that individuals behave in terms of their perception of the situation in which they are. Further, it validates for students the notion that their perspective is important and sought after. This approach has been used to create environmental assessment methods for a variety of settings including psychiatric wards, halfway houses, and high school classrooms for nonspecial education students (see Moos, 1974, 1975, 1979). The work was begun with an investigation of whether or not the Classroom Environment Scale (CES: Trickett & Moos, 1973), a perceived environment measure of the nonspecial education high school classroom, was appropriate for use in special education classes.

The CES uses aggregate student perceptions to assess three different domains of the classroom experience. The first involves the quality of interpersonal relationships among students and between students and their teachers. How well students get to know each other and how supportive the teacher is represent aspects of this *Relationship Domain*. The second domain assesses those aspects of the classroom that focus directly on the goal of learning. Called the *Goal Orientation* domain, in nonspecial education classrooms this

**TABLE 1**

*Classroom Environment Scale (CES) Form D Definition of Subscales and Sample Items (True and False)*

Relationship Domain

1. Involvement: measures the extent to which students pay attention to and show interest in the activities of the class.
   Students put a lot of energy into what they do here (T).
   Students daydream a lot in this class (F).
2. Affiliation: measures the extent to which students work with and come to know each other within the classroom.
   Students in this class get to know each other really well (T).
   There are groups of students who don't get along in this class (F).
3. Support: measures the extent to which the teacher expresses a personal interest in the students.
   The teacher goes out of her/his way to help students (T).
   Sometimes the teacher embarrasses students for not knowing the right answer (F).

Goal Orientation Domain

4. Task Orientation: measures the extent to which the activities of the class are centered around the accomplishment of specified academic objectives.
   Almost all class time is spent on the lesson for the day (T).
   This teacher often takes time out from the lesson plan to talk about other things (F).
5. Competition: measures the amount of emphasis on academic competition within the class.
   Students try hard to get the best grade (T).
   Students usually pass even if they don't do much (F).

System Maintenance/Change Domain

6. Order and Organization: measures the emphasis within the classroom on maintenance of order and the degree to which the activities of the class are well organized.
   Activities in this class are clearly and carefully planned (T).
   The teacher often has to tell students to calm down (F).
7. Rule Clarity: measures the degree to which the rules for conduct in the classroom are explicitly stated and clearly understood.
   The teacher explains what will happen if a student breaks a rule (T).
   Rules in this class seem to change a lot (F).
8. Teacher Control: measures the degree to which student conduct in the classroom is delimited by the enforcement of rules.
   When the teacher makes a rule, s/he means it (T).
   The teacher is not very strict (F).
9. Innovation: measures the extent to which different modes of teaching and classroom interaction take place in the class.
   What students do in class is very different on different days (T).
   Students do the same kind of homework almost every day (F).

includes the emphases placed on Task Orientation, or sticking to class material rather than getting sidetracked, and Competition among students for grades or classroom honors. The third domain focuses on the authority structures of the classroom including rules and degree of classroom organization. This domain, *System Maintenance and Change*, also includes an assessment of how innovative or varied the teaching approach is. Table 1 shows the three domains and the specific classroom dimensions found in each domain.

Initial prior research had suggested that not all of the CES dimensions found in nonspecial education classrooms were applicable to special education classrooms (Leone, Luttig, Zlotlow, & Trickett, 1990). To address this issue further, our group of researchers collected data from special education students in 79 classrooms of 16 different residential and day treatment schools. Results from this study were revealing in several ways. First, two of the original nine CES dimensions — Competition for grades and Innovation or variability in teaching practices — are not coherent dimensions in the classroom experience of special education students. This suggests that perhaps because of their smaller size and individualized instruction, special education classes are not only quantitatively but qualitatively different from nonspecial education classes. Further, these analyses suggest that caution should be used in transposing assessment instruments developed in nonspecial education settings to those serving special education populations.

Seven of the nine original CES dimensions, however, were reliably retained for use in special education classrooms. Thus, a 58-item seven-dimension measure of special education classes, the CES-SP, is now available. (Copies of the CES-SP can be obtained from Dr. Peter E. Leone; see last page of article for the address.) This revised scale allows us to compare student perceptions of classrooms in different types of schools. Table 2 illustrates how this data may be used. It presents comparative data gathered on nonspecial education public school classrooms, residential special education classrooms, and classrooms in day treatment special education schools. The means of the different environmental dimensions found in Table 2 provide a description of how much emphasis is placed on different aspects of the classroom environment in the different types of schools.

For example, both types of special education programs are seen as emphasizing less order and organization in the classroom than is reported in public schools. Classes in residential schools emphasize teacher control (strict rules) to a greater degree than is found in public school classrooms. And day treatment classes report a lower degree of Task Orientation than either public schools or residential special education schools. This kind of comparison can also be made, of course, among different classes within the same school.

In providing a "cognitive map" for special educators, the CES can serve a variety of other purposes as well. For example, teachers can use data provided by their students to assess whether or not their students perceive their class as they hope they do. Program developers can use the scale to assess their efforts, and researchers can determine what kinds of classroom environments are most helpful in achieving varied education goals (see Trickett, Leone, Fink, & Braaten, 1991). Most importantly, the scale directs attention to the kinds of classroom environments special educators are creating with and for their students.

**TABLE 2**

*Classroom Means on Seven CES Dimensions for Special Education and Nonspecial Education Classrooms*

| CES Subscale | Nonspecial Education ($N = 24$) | Special Education Residential ($N = 18$) | Special Education Seg Day TMT ($N = 16$) |
|---|---|---|---|
| Involvement | .581 | .499 | .494*[1] |
| (S.D.) | (.15) | (.10) | |
| Affiliation | .665 | .547*[1] | .597 |
| (S.D.) | (.14) | (.10) | (.13) |
| Teacher support | .656 | .681 | .678 |
| (S.D.) | (.14) | (.18) | (.14) |
| Task orientation | .751 | .730 | .633**[2] |
| (S.D.) | (.13) | (.09) | |
| Order and organization | .659 | .499**[1] | .494**[1] |
| (S.D.) | (.17) | (.14) | |
| Rule clarity | .716 | .771 | .733 |
| (S.D.) | (.16) | (.14) | (.13) |
| Teacher control | .518 | .690**[2] | .581 |
| (S.D.) | (.15) | (.13) | (.11) |

*Significant difference at the $p < .05$ level
**Significant difference at the $p < .01$ level
[1]Significant in relation to the largest difference
[2]Significant in relation to both other groups
**Note:** Subscales are scores 0-1, with 1 being high emphasis

### The Informal Helping Role of Teachers

While the CES provides a way to assess inclass events, special educators spend a great deal of out-of-class time with their students making conversation, providing help, or simply listening. These kinds of contacts represent another important school resource for special education students. To broaden our understanding of the school experience for special education students, the research group gathered data on the informal help-giving activities of three groups of teachers: special education teachers in schools serving only special education students, and special education and nonspecial education teachers in comprehensive public schools (see Schatz, 1989). Teachers were asked not only about providing help to students but also about their job demands, sources of stress, and perception of the resources in the school environment.

Findings from this investigation (Schmid et. al., 1990) speak both to the informal role special education teachers play with their students and to the ways in which schools affect the experience of teachers. First, teachers in general report spending 6 to 10 hours a week outside of class talking with students. When added to the ongoing demands of the teaching schedule, such a commitment deserves recognition. Second, greater teacher time was spent providing help around personal rather than academic or job-related

issues, particularly for special education teachers in special education settings. One implication of this finding is that teacher training in special education, if it is to reflect upon the way the teaching job is actually carried out, should include training teachers to deal with students' personal issues.

Data collected also put the role of the special education teacher in context. For example, teachers who reported that their school did not have adequate resources to provide personal help for students were more likely to express feelings of burnout in the teacher role. Thus teachers, while providing significant amounts of help to students, tend to feel burdened by those activities if they see the school per se as an inadequate resource. Implications of this finding are found in the group's previous report, "Strengthening the environments in which teachers work by increasing the adequacy of setting resources and/or creating the conditions for more adequate use of resources by students may be a more effective means of combating burnout and stress than by attempting to change individual teacher responsibilities or coping skills" (Schmid et al., 1990, p. 125).

Thus, the first aspect of this "Networks" project has focused on the school experience of special education students with particular emphasis on their classroom experience and their informal out-of-class interactions with teachers. This research suggests the value of attending specifically to the school as a social context for the special education adolescent. The impact of the classroom and the effects of informal help giving represent salient examples of the settings and functions that make up the school experience. The kind of classroom to which the student is assigned and the availability of out-of-class conversations with caring adults can significantly affect both current and future issues such as post-high school plans. In addition, our group's research suggests that the ways schools and classrooms are organized exerts important effects not only on students but on teachers as well.

## THE INTERPERSONAL WORLD

The school provides the adolescent with a range of potential models, contexts, and friends. Yet the adolescent's interpersonal world extends beyond the school to include family, neighborhood peers and adults, and individuals such as ministers or playground staff. This web of relationships between the adolescent and others in her/his life is called the *social network*. These groups can, in principle, provide the social resources which can support the adolescent in problem solving, job finding, or simply having fun. Because of the distinctive services and settings for special education adolescents, this network assumes increased importance. The assessment of the social network, then, widens the lens through which the adolescent's life is viewed.

### Social Networks

To assess the adolescent's social network, our research group developed a measure called the ASSIST, or Analysis of Social Support in School Transitions (Schmid et al., 1988). This measure asks about *who* is in the ongoing network, *what functions* they serve for the adolescent, and *how helpful and stressful* the relationship is. Briefly, the network is defined in terms of three reference groups: family, peers, and nonfamily adults. In interviewing special education adolescents, our group found that the kinds of support their network provides could be divided into four different functions: companionship, tangible assistance, emo-

tional support, and cognitive guidance or advice. Thus, for each person in the adolescent's network, we ask whether or not they serve each of these functions. Finally, we ask the adolescent to appraise how helpful and stressful each network relationship is. Our group has found, contrary to initial assumptions, that helpfulness and stressfulness are not opposite aspects of adolescent relationships but rather represent independent judgments they make.

This measure provides a wealth of data on the structure and function of adolescents' networks. Analyses of the data collected from 12th grade special education and nonspecial education students suggest that these two groups live in somewhat different interpersonal worlds. For both groups, family members comprise the largest percentage of the network, followed by friends, and lastly, nonfamily adults. However, special education adolescents were more likely to rely on friends for emotional support than were the nonspecial education students. Further, special education students rated nonfamily adults (both in and out of school) as more helpful than did nonspecial education students.

Of particular interest here is the distinctive importance that nonfamily adults play in the lives of special education students, particularly those nonfamily adults in service-providing roles. When added to the previously discussed data on the amount of time special education teachers report spending with students on personal issues, the social network data reinforce the importance of teachers and other school personnel in the lives of these students.

**Weak Ties**

The ASSIST focuses on that part of the adolescent's social network which includes what social network researchers call *strong ties*, or ongoing relationships of importance. In addition, however, social networks also include what Granovetter (1973) has called *weak ties*, those individuals not in the ongoing network who nonetheless provide specialized expertise or knowledge. For example, job counselors may not be seen by adolescents as strong ties but would represent important social resources around employment. To further our understanding of this aspect of the adolescent's social world, our group developed a measure to assess weak ties. It includes seven kinds of weak ties including general service providers, specialized service providers, people from religious and recreational activities, and so-called familiar strangers or people whom one encounters on a regular basis (e.g., bus driver) but with whom one has no ongoing relationship.

Special education 12th graders have a somewhat different pattern of weak ties than do their nonspecial education counterparts. Overall, for example, they report having a greater number of weak ties, particularly in the areas of school relationships, specialized service providers, and familiar strangers. Indeed, the range of weak ties reported by these adolescents suggest that a wide variety of individuals are seen by them as being of potential help in problem solving. The data further reinforce the special role of formal service providers and school personnel in their lives.

The weak ties notion is an important one to keep in mind when attempting to understand and intervene on behalf of special education adolescents. By asking adolescents about this aspect of their social world, one gets a broader picture of the potential resources to draw on as well as a better understanding of how connected the adolescent is to others.

### Network Orientation

Together, the ASSIST and the weak ties measure provide a composite picture of the variety of interpersonal relationships of special education students. They show that family members represent the largest proportion of the strong ties and that school-related individuals are particularly important. However, for both strong and weak ties to be of use to the adolescent, s/he must decide to engage them, to seek them out when issues or problems arise. Teachers eager to provide help need to be approached if they are to be useful. Family friends or a local minister or rabbi must be alerted so that they may offer support. To address this issue, the research group created a measure of network orientation (Iscoe, 1988) designed to assess the adolescent's inclination to use her/his network when problems arise.

The basic concept underlying the measure is the degree to which adolescents characteristically seek out network support when confronted with a problem. An affiliative network orientation indicates a propensity to seek support and help from network members. A nonaffiliative orientation is defined by an unwillingness to approach others for help in problem solving. Network orientation is assessed separately for family members, peers, and nonfamily adults. We have kept these groups separate because our analyses show that adolescents do not have general network orientation that is consistent across these three groups. Rather, network orientation scores toward one group are very modestly correlated with scores toward other groups (*r*'s range from .08 to .20).

In our comparisons of special education 12th graders to a comparable nonspecial education group, we find that special education adolescents report a more affiliative network orientation toward nonfamily adults than do the nonspecial education group. Thus, the nonfamily adults in the lives of special education adolescents seem to take on a more frequent problem-solving role. No group differences were found in network orientation toward friends and family. However, both groups were more likely to turn to peers and family than they were to nonfamily adults for help.

## CONCLUSION

The transition of special education students from high school to the world beyond has become an important issue for special educators to address. The longitudinal project briefly described here began with the assumption that the more is known about the social contexts and social resources of students, the better educators and other professionals can help them in their planning for and coping with future demands. Doing so requires that we pay attention to how the school and the interpersonal resources of the adolescent can be developed as resources for the special education student. The initial part of the longitudinal project described herein represents an attempt to develop assessment methods appropriate to this task. Through the measures of classroom environment, social networks, weak ties, and orientation to using available resources, we are attempting to create empirical methods of viewing the special education adolescent in context. How these contexts affect adaptation to post-high school life will be described in future reports.

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# Understanding and Defusing the Streetcorner Behaviors of Urban Black Socially Maladjusted Youth

Thomas A. McIntyre

Schools and students in urban core areas often differ considerably from those described in teacher training programs (Foster, 1986; Yates, 1988). For teachers new to the urban classroom, it can be a frustrating, bewildering, and at times even frightening experience. They will be asked to teach, discipline, and counsel students who come from an environment of poverty, crime, racial/cultural isolation, and low educational/career achievement and support on the part of parents.

Poor urban black students frequently grow up in an environment in which the milieu outside the home is threatening both physically and psychologically. Growing up in these neighborhoods often results in the acquisition of counterculture traits that impede school success. These behaviors include a more physical style of action, a greater approval of the use of violence, less disguised aggression, lack of subtlety in verbiage, and the ridiculing of others (Chilman, 1965; Crain & Weisman, 1972; Hanna, 1988; Miller, 1959; Scherer, Abeles, & Fischer, 1975).

One lesson that is learned early on is that to survive on the ghetto streets one must be quick-witted and strong. In the words of one student, "In my neighborhood, if you're not a predator, you're prey." The meaning is clear — if you are not streetwise and tough, you become the target of those who control the streets. In these tough urban areas there "emerges a view of life in which contest or coercion is expected in any interpersonal encounter" (Abrahams, 1963, p. 16). "Consequently, life is seen as a constant hustle, and the one who does the best is the one who manipulates most and is manipulated least" (Abrahams, 1963, p. 19).

Due to the flight of the black middle class to the suburbs, there is often a lack of positive role models to provide guidance to these kids. For many urban youth, the streetcorner serves as a place to meet and participate in activities which oftentimes fall outside the norms of society. Here they are frequently socialized into adulthood by society's undesirables who promote the callous, manipulative, and aggressive lifestyle of the streets.

The streetcorner subculture is found in all urban areas. While most of youth in urban centers are well-behaved and studious, almost all adopt this streetcorner mentality to some degree. Indeed, "it would be. . .difficult to imagine a high school student in [an] inner city school not being touched by what is generally regarded as 'street culture' in some way" (Kochman, 1976). Valentine (1978) agrees, stating that in urban core areas "everyone beyond early childhood has knowledge of and at least indirect contact with these operations" (p. 34).

These learned behaviors are often brought into the schools where they run counter to educational objectives and expectations (Hanna, 1988). According to

Foster (1986, p. 177), "Testing their ability to run a game and to hustle or manipulate their teachers helps them develop what their environment has taught them are streetcorner social and economic coping and survival techniques."

Many of these street kids, upon entering the middle class oriented schools, are mislabeled *emotionally disturbed* and placed in special education classes (Foster, 1986; Weiss, 1988). Usually, "the student breaks the rules of social order for reasons other than a behavior disorder or emotional disturbance" (Fulton County Schools, 1987, p. 17). Roberts concurs, stating "Predictably, the child is diagnosed as emotionally ill and often given the label of psychopath instead of placing the onus for his antisocial behavior on the degrading environment where it rightly belongs" (1987, p. 3).

While it is *possible* for these students to be emotionally disturbed, most are not (Conger & Miller, 1966). They are more properly referred to as being *socially maladjusted*. Rather than reflecting a psychological abnormality, their learned "streetsmarts" are necessary for emotional and physical survival in the confusing and hostile neighborhoods in which they live (Foster, 1986).

What occurs oftentimes, is that educators, unfamiliar with other cultures, mistake their students' culturally determined behavior as being an indication of an emotional problem in need of special education services or at least disciplinary action (Grossman, 1990). Behavioral patterns often vary by culture (Light & Martin, 1985; Toth, 1990) and are commonly misinterpreted by teachers not from those cultures (Garcia, 1978; Grossman, 1990; Pusch, 1979). In fact, according to Garcia (1978), much of the minority group overrepresentation in special education may be due to this educator ethnocentricity. Much of the overrepresentation of black students in programs for the behaviorally disordered may also be due to a cultural misunderstanding (McIntyre, 1990).

A new proposed definition for *emotional or behavioral disorder* (Forness & Knitzer, 1990) may soon be adopted by the federal government in place of the present definition for *serious emotional disturbance* (McIntyre et al., 1990) and will require that culturally-based behavior be interpreted as different, not disordered. Whether black streetcorner youth will be considered emotionally/behaviorally disordered is yet to be seen. Many who wish to deny services to these youth will say that their behaviors have been taught by a culture common to urban lower class areas. They will argue that these behaviors are *cultural* and therefore fall outside the domain of special education. This group of socially maladjusted youth may continue to be denied services as is often the case under the present definition.

According to Hanna (1988) these creative responses are survival techniques developed to win against a society that is perceived as being hostile toward them. Although youth from other cultures may emulate these behavior patterns or display similar actions, their manipulative games are more subtle, lacking the intensity and frequency seen in the urban black culture (Hanna, 1988). The games are often so creative that we wish that our streetwise students would instead channel this self-defeating energy and wit into more productive activities rather than countering a productive learning climate in the schools. Indeed, Foster (1986) states that "had not racism forced black males to develop and exploit this illegal outlet for the preservation of masculinity and ego, and the wherewithal for monetary reward, many of the players would have shown extreme giftedness in their pursuit of middle class, socially acceptable means

for gaining economic success" (p. 54).

The degree to which manipulative and exploitive ploys play a part in the lower class youngster's life is evidenced by the finding that one-fourth of black vernacular expressions spoken by black youth describe some manner of manipulating or coercing others (Folb, 1980). Indeed, "it is difficult to find a black male in the community who has not witnessed or participated in the dozens or heard of signifying, or rapping, or shucking and jiving, at some time while he was growing up" (Kochman, 1983, p. 57).

This nonmainstream behavior may explain some of why blacks are twice as likely as whites to be suspended (Gibbs, 1988; *New York Times*, 12/12/88) and are suspended for longer periods and more total days than whites (Gibbs, 1988).

Most urban educators are unprepared to meet the challenge of teaching these students (Sedlacek & Brooks, 1976). The likelihood is that they have never had any training in coping with these students (Urbanski, 1986) or even had any instruction in practical reality-oriented behavior management (Foster, 1986). Indeed, Foster writes that "school personnel are very often frightened and intimidated to the point where some black, poor, or minority youngsters are (a) allowed to disrupt their fellow students' education, (b) allowed to behave in a way that would not be accepted from white middle class children, or (c) suspended or placed in special education programs in numbers out of all proportion to their total numbers in the school district. . . .There is no doubt that the problem of disruptive behavior in the classroom has discouraged large numbers of teachers from planning long professional careers in ghetto schools. It has been responsible in significant measure for the turnover rates in these schools and for the crippling morale problems among professionals who stay on for any length of time" (pp. 17-18).

Teachers need to become streetsmart to avoid becoming pawns in their students' streetcorner ploys (Gonzalez, 1984; Leone, 1986; McIntyre, 1990). The best way for educators to avoid being manipulated by these streetcorner tactics is to first become familiar with them. Instructors who realize what is being attempted will be more successful in defusing these contests and achieving the "rep" of a teacher who is "with-it" and who can't be manipulated.

These manipulative/coercive streetcorner behaviors can be categorized into different types of "games". Most of them contain a verbal component designed to misdirect the other party. In addition to verbal distractors, some of the contests also add a physical component meant to frighten and intimidate others. A number of prominent streetcorner "contests" are addressed below. The names for these street ploys vary by geographic region, and in some areas students may not have names for these tactics, but make no mistake about it, these games do exist in all parts of North America.

### Dissing

Dissing — also referred to as ribbing, busting, capping, casing, chopping, cutting, joning, medling, ranking, screaming, snapping, or sounding — involves making fun of someone's clothing, belongings, physical features, or personal traits. The insults are delivered in a good-natured way among friends and acquaintances, or used to taunt and degrade others. Often, due to lack of knowledge regarding the game and terminology, a teacher may not even be aware that he or she is being dissed. While dissing usually involves one individ-

ual's comment to another, it can also develop into a "sounding session" in which two or more students exchange humorous or serious insults. This session typically draws a crowd that punctuates each remark with laughter and/or positive or negative commentary depending upon their evaluation of the "cut". Contestants who become known for their skill in ribbing are given great prestige and develop an honored reputation. Other benefits accrue as they are also less likely to be the target of negative or even good-natured ribbing by others due to the fear of being bested.

*Dissing example #1.* Victor is proudly wearing a new pair of pink trousers. As he walks down the hallway, two tough guys start dissing him. One yells "Yo! Victor! You been in your sister's closet again?" The other says "Damn, man. If you gonna be stealing from the store, at least lift it from the men's department."

*Dissing example #2.* Walking in shorts from the locker room to the football practice field, Demetrius retaliates to an earlier comment by Roger, saying "Hey, Roger, my arms are bigger than your legs. Man, you look like a bird."

It is often more difficult to know whether and in what manner to intervene when dissing occurs. While a spontaneous, good-natured remark may add to the positive tone of the classroom environment, a more personal, hurtful comment can lead to friction which then disrupts the lesson and demands disciplinary action. However, even if a teacher protects a student from being dissed, that may only delay a more severe "capping" later from others who view the student as one who is in need of protection by authority figures.

There are, however, standards by which to assess the need for intervention. Little if any teacher response is necessary when both the speaker *and* the recipient of the commentary view the remarks as being humorous. This is most likely to be the case among friends. Students who are adversaries or unfamiliar with each other are more likely to be offended. Early in the school year, teachers should set and enforce limits regarding this behavior.

**The Dozens**

Another game of verbal sparring involves saying negative things about another's family members, usually female, especially the mother. While usually heard as a series of short insulting retorts, poems or "toasts" are sometimes recited by the participants. Playing the dozens, also referred to as *your mama, ranking/ sounding/playing moms*, or *playing house* progresses through phases with younger children calling another's mother "ugly" or some other insult typical of that age. A few years later, insults place the mother in masculine roles (e.g., Your mother plays linebacker for the Rams). Finally, it advances (or degenerates) to commentary on the sex life of one's female family members. At any of these stages, just the two words, your mama, can be enough to provoke a fight.

*Dozens example #1.* Miss Cowell, a rural teacher, is surprised to see one of her 7-year-olds crying at his desk. Upon inquiry, she discovers that the new student from Chicago has been whispering from behind, "Your mama's ugly," "She wears army boots," "She eats spam," and so forth.

*Dozens example #2.* Ricardo: I saw your mama down on Peachtree Street (an area known for prostitution) last night.

Andre: She was lookin' for your mama. You ain't seen her in 3 weeks.

Ricardo: Yeah? Well, why was your mama lookin' in the trash?

Andre: She was lookin' for your lunch. What raunchy old things you got in your lunchbox today?

Ricardo: Hey, man, I got some dog food in there for your mama. Your mama barks!

Andre: S—t, man, that was the dog your mama was f—king.

Ricardo: Hey, tell your mama not to come around my house no more. I'm tired of f—king her.

Andre: You got it all backwards, dummy. Hell, it ain't no coincidence that you look like me, *SON!*

*Dozens example #3.* "I don't play the dozens. The dozens ain't my game. But the way I f—ked your mama is just a god-damned shame." (This is an example of the "toast" form of the dozens which involves memorized rhymes.)

A game of the dozens, as with dissing, will draw a crowd which "scores" the insults with expletives, sounds, and their own commentary. This can place great pressure on the losing contestant to defend his family's honor by physically attacking the more successful protagonist. At other times, the losing player may choose a more vulnerable member of the audience on which to "sound" in an attempt to place that person in the defensive position.

Given this susceptibility for disorder and conflict, the teacher must intervene quickly. Generally, it is recommended that one firmly tell the students to cease and desist, using the name of the game. For example, one might say, "I don't want to hear anyone playing the dozens in this room." This lets the students know that you are somewhat familiar with this ritualistic game of insults.

If you should ever be involuntarily brought into a game of the dozens by a student who insults your family, you *must* respond in order to maintain prestige among your pupils. In their eyes, you have been given the supreme insult. Failure to defend your family name would show a lack of self-pride. However, as a professional, you certainly cannot engage in an exchange of demeaning and derogatory comments. Show your familiarity with the game while making it appear as if you are "above" it. Simply state that "I don't play the dozens." It supports your image as a firm, confident, yet respectful teacher.

**Hustling**

Also referred to as *running/working/whupping a game*, this behavior usually involves a clever plan devised and executed to deceive and manipulate others. The intent is to divorce others from their money, goods, or services. In addition to "conning" another, *the hustle* can also involve gambling, stealing, extortion, or the sale of drugs. In low income areas, it has traditionally been a method of financial survival (Valentine, 1978). Horton and Hunt (1968) contend that "hustling is the central street activity. It is the economic foundation for everyday life. Hustling and the fruits of hustling set the rhythm of social activities."

Other streetcorner maneuvers are often used as part of the con. For example, woofing might be used to intimidate a victim of an extortion attempt in the lunchroom or a back hallway. In another variation, a minority student may claim that the reason a teacher of another culture won't give him a dollar for lunch is because that teacher is prejudiced. An insecure teacher may think, "Gee, if I worked with white kids in the suburbs, maybe I *would* give them a dollar. I better give this student money to prove that I'm not prejudiced."

Students will often plan deceitful ploys which do not have money as the target of their actions. These differ from spontaneous jiving (described below) because they are preplanned attempts to manipulate a teacher. However, many other streetcorner tactics described herein are often labeled as *running a game*

because of the manipulative aspects involved.

*Hustling example #1.* A student tells a teacher to give her five dollars or she will report to the principal that he is responsible for the bruise/abrasion on her face.

*Hustling example #2.* "Teresa hated going home after school. She didn't ask her teacher if she could stay after class because she liked school; she wanted to avoid the gang of boys who waited outside for their 'collection'. The gang demanded different things from different kids. Willy was told to bring coins, Tracy comic books, and Teresa was to steal gum from the variety store at the Plaza. Punishment for not coming through with the goods was a beating. No matter how carefully the teacher tried to prevent it, we simply couldn't be everywhere at once. So Teresa's mother went to the store each week and bought bags full of gum for the gang members. She didn't want her daughter to be forced to steal." (Hanna, 1988, p. 162)

*Hustling example #3.* Daryl's mother buys barbecued potato chips and candy bars in bulk and repackages them for him to sell at school at inflated prices.

*Hustling example #4.* Tamary, looking uncomfortable and in pain, tells Mr. Cannon that is it "that time of the month" and asks if she can go to the bathroom. There she socializes with friends who have cut class.

*Hustling example #5.* A student claims to be sick and asks to go to the nurse to be treated. The teacher says that she may go if she wishes. He tells her, however, that he will check with the nurse to determine if she arrived at the clinic and was indeed ill. The student is informed that if she is "running a game," she will be sent to the Dean for disciplinary action. The student says "Never mind."

The teacher in the last example displayed the proper way of determining whether the student is trying to hustle or whup a game. Be skeptical and state that you will check on the credibility of the story or excuse. Ask the pupil if s/he still wants to go to the office, bathroom, library, locker, and so forth. If so, investigate the validity of the student's story later. If true, praise the youth's honesty and give her/him the benefit of the doubt in the future. If not, administer a consequence and deny future requests for a time in order to make an impact upon the student. After the student's credibility has been restored, you may want to give her/him another chance to prove her/himself. An old adage applies here: "Fool me once, shame on you; fool me twice, shame on me."

As for the money making schemes, administrative support and possibly police assistance is needed. Gambling, locker theft, extortion, and the sale of drugs cannot be tolerated in our schools.

### Jiving

Jiving is the use of misinformation and lies to mislead or deceive another. It differs from hustling in that it is spontaneous rather than planned. When teachers intervene in disorderly situations they can expect to be *jived* (i.e., told disinformation or tall stories) as the students attempt to convince the instructor that they were innocent bystanders caught up in an unexpected event.

*Jiving example #1.* Upon hearing an explosion, two teachers hurry toward the auditorium from which the noise emanated. As they turn the corner of the hallway, they bump into two students who are running away from the area. The students, fearing that the teachers might detain them, excitedly tell of youths

throwing firecrackers at each other in the aud which has resulted in a severe eye injury to an unlucky pupil. They claim to be running to the nurse's office to seek help. The teachers let the students pass and enter an empty auditorium. They look at one another and each asks if the other knows the names of the boys they just released.

*Jiving example #2.* A teacher is pleased when one of her students approaches her in the hallway to engage in a friendly chat as they walk. After a short time and before the teacher asks to see his hall pass, the student says, "I better go now" and runs away. The teacher realizes that the youth has used her to be able to walk by another teacher serving as hallway monitor.

*Jiving example #3.* A teacher breaks up a fight but is only able to hold and detain one student. This student appeared to be the victim who was only trying to protect himself from the now absent attacker. The student tells the counselor how he was merely walking down the hallway when he was unexpectedly set upon by the other. He states that he does not know the other student and that the attack was probably the result of the assailant being high on PCP or crack (drugs). The school grapevine would later indicate that the detained student had been making fun of the other boy's pregnant girlfriend, and had been suggesting that she now have sex with him because she was already "knocked up" and "nothing could happen."

*Jiving example #4.* A truant officer asks a student why he is roaming around the local shopping mall instead of attending school that day. The student responds that he wants to be in school, but was told by his mother to escort his elderly and senile Grandmother while they shop. He states that he is now searching for her because she has wandered away and he is worried about her.

Always be wary of jive; the stories often will be incredibly creative and appear to have some validity. As with hustling, if you are not sure that the explanation is true, tell the student that you will investigate the validity of her/his story.

**Signifying**

Although this term is sometimes used as a synonym for dissing, and can pertain to any troublemaking, it most often refers to a manipulative game in which a student tells two persons (separately) that each said something undesirable about the other. The ploy attempts to cause conflict between the two unsuspecting parties. The teller of the tales does so with insinuation that the listener's prestige will suffer if s/he fails to confront the supposed offender. A milder version is often used against teachers in which the student tells each teacher that the other said s/he (the student) should be granted privileges which are out of the ordinary.

*Signifying example #1.* Louis: "Hey, Velma. You hear what Sigrunn said about you? She said you pulled a train (had sex with multiple partners) with Kip and his friends." And then, "Yo! Sigrunn! Velma just told me you is pregnant. Is that true?" Later, a teacher is struggling to separate Sigrunn and Velma who are arguing loudly.

*Signifying example #2.* A student tells the teacher, "Coach Schafer wants you to give me a pass to help him paint lines on the field for tonight's game." The student previously said to the coach, "Miss Silva is giving us a party in class today. There's nothing for us to do. Can I help you paint lines?" There was no party in class; a lesson was planned.

**Loud-Talking**

Also called *louding*, loud-talking refers to seemingly personal utterances which by virtue of their volume permit persons other than the addressee to hear the comments. The intent may be to joke with, embarrass, or manipulate the other person by exerting social pressure upon her/him. This is done by controlling the volume in order to draw, or threaten to draw, the attention of others.

*Loud-talking example #1.* "If I knew something and you know that they didn't want me to tell, I'd do that; like if they been and got arrested, 'You got arrested?' And I'd kinda say it real loud so everybody could hear it and start laughin' at that particular person." (Hanna, 1988, p. 99)

*Loud-talking example #2.* During the weekly advisement period a student attempts to sneak into the class meeting which is already in progress. The advisor does not see his entry until a class member says loudly, "Hey, boy, where you been?"

*Loud-talking example #3.* One student in a group yells down the hallway to a young woman, "Yo! Sissy! You still got those rubbers (condoms) in your purse?"

Depending on the situation, the teacher may decide to handle it with humor or talk privately with the offending student.

**Motor Mouthing**

Motor mouthing is used to extricate oneself from a negative situation. This is done by talking quickly and continuously with no pauses. The lack of conversational turn-taking attempts to prevent the teacher from being able to make her/his point and thus prevents discipline from being implemented. If the student does pause, that lasts only until the teacher tries to intervene again, at which point the motor mouthing resumes until the teacher gives up on efforts to intercede.

*Motor mouthing example #1.* Marcus is caught (again) looking into the drawers of the teacher's desk by the instructor who enters the room to start class. The teacher begins to speak, but Marcus loudly and quickly starts "running at the mouth", telling his reasons for being near the desk, frequently going off on tangents in an attempt to distract the teacher from the issue. The instructor waits for a pause to speak, but one never appears. He attempts to stop Marcus by calling his name. Marcus, however, continues expounding his views in cluttered, slurred, staccato fashion. The teacher yells "Sit down!" twice and Marcus takes a seat. The instructor then attempts to address the issue, but Marcus resumes his motor mouthing. The teacher, frustrated, turns to the rest of the class and says "Does this guy ever shut up?" Marcus quiets and the teacher begins to teach class; Marcus escapes consequences for his actions.

*Motor mouthing example #2.* Darion attempts to motor-mouth his teacher. She writes on the board: "Number of seconds Darion will be late for hall passing." (5 minutes is allotted to proceed to one's next class.) She writes 10, 20, 30, 60, as Darion continues his story each time the teacher attempts to address the issue. The teacher states, "I'll take up to 2 minutes away from your hall passing. After that we go to detention after school. We'll have plenty of time to talk then." Darion ceases his nonstop verbal behavior.

In addition to the strategy used in the example above, the ideas listed under The Cat and the Gorilla section are also effective for dealing with motor mouthing.

**The Cat and the Gorilla**

This ploy involves sweet-talking a teacher in an attempt to gain a privilege or avoid a punishment (i.e., the cat). If unsuccessful, the student may yell and storm around the room, kicking and throwing objects (i.e., the gorilla). The gorilla does not directly intimidate the teacher as in *woofing* (described later). The student's aggression is directed toward objects.

*Cat and gorilla example #1.* To insure that her borrowed pens are returned, Miss McDonnell collects "collateral" when she lends one to her students. Dexter leaves at the end of the period, forgetting to return the borrowed pen and reclaim his watch. The next day, he enters Miss McDonnell's room before homeroom and politely asks for his watch back. The teacher refuses to return it until her pen is returned. The student pleads with his instructor. This being ineffective, he takes her coffee cup, throws it against the window, and upends desks. He still does not get his watch back and storms out of the room.

*Cat and gorilla example #2.* Cory enters the room of one of his teachers who is completing paperwork during his planning period and says, "Hey, Mr. Schwab, you're looking good today. That tie is busting [stylish]."

Mr. S.: Thanks, Cory. Where are you supposed to be?

Cory: Aw, Mr. Schwab, my lady and I are having romantic troubles. You gotta give me a pass to the library so I can speak with her. We gotta talk.

Mr. S.: Sorry, pal. You're supposed to be in class and I can't decide that it's alright to cut it.

Cory (pleading): Mr. Schwab! You gotta let me go. Me and my girl are on the rocks, man. This is important. Please.

Mr. S.: Not a chance, Cory. I will write a pass for you to get to your class, though.

Cory (belligerently): S—t, man! I gotta go and talk with my lady. Some other guy's gonna scoop [steal] her if I don't get down there and talk with her.

Mr. S.: Cory, you can leave with a pass or without, but I will not send you to the library.

Cory (throwing a book across the room): F—k this, man. I ask for a favor once and I don't get s—t, man. (He then kicks a desk and storms around the room.)

Many teachers acquiesce to the student's demands when confronted by "the gorilla." This, however, only reinforces that behavior and increases the chances that it will be used again in the future. Tell the student that s/he needs to stop the behavior and it will not be effective in convincing you to meet her/his demands. Do this in a calm and controlled manner. If s/he continues, administer sequentially more severe consequences for her/his behavior. The teacher might also remove a disciplinary referral form from the desk drawer and tell the student that if s/he doesn't calm down by the time the form is completed, s/he will indeed be referred to the administration for disciplinary action.

**Woofing**

In woofing (sometimes called *wolfing* or *punking someone down*), students use proximity, motion, prolonged eye contact, voice modulation, unknown terminology, vulgar language, threats, and a menacing appearance to intimidate others. It is "a pattern of behavior in which threats would be made but not acted upon. Blacks do have this pattern of behavior in woofing. On the streets it's purpose is to gain, without actually having to become violent, the respect and fear from

others that is often won through physical combat. To accomplish this, it is necessary to create an image of being one not to be trifled with. Once someone's reputation in these respects has been established, he may never again be called upon to prove it" (Foster, 1986, p. 162).

This behavior develops early in "tough" neighborhoods where black parents often teach their children to fight to avoid being victimized by others (Coles, 1967; Hanna, 1988). Many of our students have developed a reputation (deservedly so or perhaps through local folklore) for being good fighters. Peers fear them. Teachers, even if they do not fear them, often attempt to appease them to prevent a major disturbance. The reputations of these students grant them privileges not allowed others, and enable them to exert power and influence within the school community.

*Woofing example #1.* A boy and girl are arguing loudly in the hallways during class time. The principal arrives and tells them to cease the confrontation. The boy points at the administrator and yells, "This is none of your mother——ing business! Get on down the hall!" The principal meekly leaves after mentioning that the students should try to get to class early.

*Woofing example #2.* Kendrick is nose-to-nose with a teacher who looks very nervous. Kendrick is moving and posing in a menacing manner. He has his arms to his side, flexing his hands into fists. He is shifting his body weight from one leg to another. He looks MEAN, never breaking eye contact, while he chews his gum. The teacher (who was negatively perceived by this student and viewed as "a wimp") had demanded that Kendrick throw his gum away. The teacher meekly displays what is referred to as a "s—t-eating grin" and wide open "owl eyes" to accompany his tilted-back head and turned out palm. This teacher "bought a woof ticket."

Most often woofing against teachers takes the less severe form of a student yelling at the instructor. For example, a teacher asks an entering student why he is late for class. The student belligerently screams, "I was in the can [bathroom], man!" The student hopes that his dynamic verbal attack will convince the teacher to meekly accept the excuse and allow him to enter.

Woofing is especially effective against those who are unfamiliar with it and don't realize that it is most often "all show and no go." Its purpose is to frighten and intimidate, rather than engage in actual physical contact. The menacing behavior can usually be defused and eliminated by informed, tactful action.

As with all of the streetcorner games, it is important to give the appearance of being calm, self-assured, and in control (even if you *are* frightened or angry). Perhaps the most difficult time to keep this demeanor is when the student is directly threatening you. Some students act the part so well that you wonder whether they are actually going to attack you. Either way, showing fear or insecurity can provoke the youth into greater aggression. If you feel that an attack is a possibility, announce that a colleague is expected any moment to observe class, take you to lunch, or whatever. A second strategy is to make an "assertive withdrawal." This involves confidently and assertively telling the student that you don't have the time to deal with him right now because you have other duties to which you must attend.

If you fear an imminent attack, *run* from the student, and if possible, when you are at a safe distance, turn to say, "No, I'm not going to run from this. Young man (woman), I'm going to the office. Meet me there." In this manner, you end the situation on an assertive note.

The benefit of these strategies is that they allow you to look secure and self-assured while you withdraw from a situation involving potential trouble. Your image and safety are both protected.

### Wilding

Most people became familiar with the term *wilding* and its behavior in 1989 when a young woman was beaten and raped by a gang of youth in New York City's Central Park. However, it is not a new phenomenon and was previously most commonly referred to by citizens and merchants as "wolfpacking" or by youth as "getting paid."

Wilding involves a roving gang of youth who spontaneously misbehave in some manner. Wilding is a form of group terrorism which develops out of the adolescent search for excitement and social pressure from peers to join the groups. Not only must one join the group, her/his performance during the wilding incident will later be evaluated during postwilding review sessions. The value placed on performance puts great pressures on the leaders to initiate actions that exceed previous ones with respect to excitement and daring. Followers are under pressure to get in their "licks" for bragging rights and acceptance at the later "debriefing".

While their inschool misconduct may be as serious as raping and beating others, it most often takes the form of robbing jewelry, extorting money, breaking windows in cars and buildings, and throwing objects at those nearby. This random, aimless violence and vandalism is usually initiated for one of two reasons: to obtain material wealth or provide exciting recreation.

*Wilding example #1.* A group of students run through the hallways of their school, yelling and banging on classroom doors before escaping to the outside as teachers enter the hallways too late to see other than the perpetrators' backs. Ten minutes later, after classes are again engaged in instruction, the group returns, setting off fire extinguishers and fire alarms before exiting from the other side of the school.

*Wilding example #2.* A loud and active group of students roams through the school hallways, pushing others out of the way while insulting and taunting them. In the back hallways, they attack other students, taking their money and possessions.

If you see a wolfpack, quickly determine whether the individuals are just pranksters who wish to avoid contact with school authority figures, or whether they look unyielding and aggressive. For the former, act assertively and if you know the names of any of the students, inform the administration. For the later, withdraw, lock the door, call security, or whatever is deemed necessary to protect yourself and your students.

## CLOSING COMMENTS

While we as concerned professionals would like to convince our students to use their intelligence and talents in socially appropriate ways, "easy money" or time away from unsuccessful academic pursuits are temptresses difficult to resist. For our students whose academic prowess is more limited, streetcorner behaviors provide a way to strike back at an alienating place (i.e., the school), and to show others that they can be successful regardless of educational difficulties and shortcomings.

Teachers, by virtue of their persona, create the educational climate in their classroom which deters streetcorner behavior. Educators who project an "in charge" image while displaying genuine concern for their students are less likely to be confronted by streetcorner behavior and more likely to be able to quell it when it does occur. A friendly, confident teacher with a consistent and respectful behavior management system is valued and respected by her/his charges.

While specific techniques can be effective in defusing certain streetcorner tactics, schools can do much to reduce the initial probability of occurrence of these behaviors within their walls. When the school environment is welcoming, structured, and well supervised, streetcorner "toughs" are prevented from victimizing others. When the other students feel protected, they have a lessened need or desire to disrupt the educational process or "put down" others to protect their own psyche or body.

Students will, to some extent, continue to use the learned behaviors of the streets out of habit or to develop their reputation. The teacher who promotes the positive aspects of this behavior (e.g., its humor, "spunk", and enthusiasm) while preventing the negative aspects (e.g., its hurtful effects, disruptiveness, and violence) builds her/his own positive "rep".

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# Ethics Instruction: A Model for Advancing the Social Competence of Youth with Emotional and Learning Problems

Pamela F. Miller and Sidney R. Miller

Educators have for some time been aware of the need for interventions to assist students with learning and emotional problems in developing positive social relationships with others. This concern is supported by a substantial body of research that indicates, without intervention, students with disabilities are likely to experience social rejection in mainstreamed settings (Gresham, 1982). The inability to develop positive social relationships with others has been associated with dropping out of school, juvenile and adult criminality and adult psychopathology (Parker & Asher, 1987), as well as job termination (Greenspan & Shoultz, 1981).

Special educators have attributed the social isolation of students with disabilities to various external causes. Labeling has been cited as having both a positive (Guskin, 1963) and a negative effect (Bogdan & Taylor, 1982) on the social acceptability of students with disabilities. Regular class placement *and* special class placement have been investigated in relationship to the social status of students with disabilities (Hallahan & Kauffman, 1990). Educators have also attempted to modify negative peer attitudes toward students with disabilities through curricula interventions that present information about various categorical disability labels (Stainback, Stainback, Raschke, & Anderson, 1981).

Another approach has been to attribute the social rejection of students with learning and emotional problems to social skill deficits (Asher, Oden, & Gottman, 1977). Research investigations based on an intra-individual skill deficit rationale have focused upon such specific social behaviors as conversation skills (Matson & Andrasik, 1982; Wildman, Wildman, & Kelly, 1986), question asking (Bondy & Erickson, 1976), positive and negative assertions (McGee, Krantz, & McClannahan, 1984), stereotypical behavior (Rollings, Baumeister & Baumeister, 1977), and sharing (Bryant & Budd, 1984).

Unfortunately, fractionated intervention programs that train students to use a discrete set of social skills without considering the environment in which the student behaves have had difficulty demonstrating generalizability (Strain, Odom, & McConnell, 1984). Similarly, attempts to improve the social acceptability of students with disabilities by eliminating classification labels and/or changing the physical environment in which the student receives instruction have yielded inconclusive results (Hallahan & Kauffman, 1990).

Some educators have therefore begun to examine the social problems of students with disabilities from an ecological perspective (Leone, Luttig, Zlotlow, & Trickett, 1990). The ecological perspective allows educators to consider both

the characteristics of the student and the environmental context in which the student behaves and to construct intervention programs based upon the interdependence of these two factors. Rather than attempting to develop a set of social skills that may not be appropriate to every social situation, interventions based on the ecological perspective focus upon the broader goal of social competence. The term *social competence* has been used by Foster and Ritchey (1979) to describe the ability to respond to any given environment in a manner that produces, maintains, and enhances positive effects of the interactor.

This article describes a model for advancing the social competence of youth with emotional and learning problems through ethics instruction. The term *ethics* or *ethic* is most commonly used to refer to a system of moral principles followed by an individual or governing a particular culture or group. In this paper, ethics refers to the study of human conduct with respect to the rightness and wrongness of certain actions and the goodness and badness of the motives and ends of such actions (The Random House Dictionary of the English Language, Second Edition Unabridged, 1987).

The purpose of this model of ethics instruction is therefore not to promote a specific code of conduct or attitude toward morality but rather to help students recognize and resolve ethical conflicts within themselves, with others, and with their environment in such a way as to promote social competence. The model resonates to the ecological approach by considering the effect of both the maturation level of the interactor as well as the demands of varied environmental settings on the way individuals cope with social problems.

## OVERVIEW OF THE MODEL

### Ethical Development

The theoretical basis for this model of ethical development is found in the writings of Heinz Werner, an early cognitive developmental psychologist. According to Werner's organismic-developmental theory (Werner & Kaplan, 1963), human development is a process that occurs in a predictable sequential order, although at different rates, in all human beings. Each developmental stage builds upon the stage preceding it. As new stages emerge, more primitive modes of thought are not lost but rather may recur under special conditions.

Werner's theory suggests that the relationship of the organism and its environment is reciprocal. This means that an individual's conduct is influenced by the environment in which the individual functions. It also means that the environment is in turn influenced by the actions of the individuals who function within it.

The model of ethical development presented in Figure 1 suggests that ethical development is the result of three interactive forces — the environment, the cognitive ability of the individual, and the resulting effects of the interaction of the individual with the environment (experience or learning). The three stages listed roughly correspond to the three levels of moral judgment in children described by Lawrence Kohlberg (1980).

In the first stage of ethical development, an individual's conduct is influenced primarily by the environment. The individual sustains actions that are rewarded by the environment and terminates behaviors that result in negative consequences. For example, 5-year-old Bobby steals a toy from Jeremy who is 7. Jeremy retrieves the toy and promptly knocks Bobby down on the floor. Tearful Bobby "learns" not to take toys from Jeremy, at least while Jeremy is around.

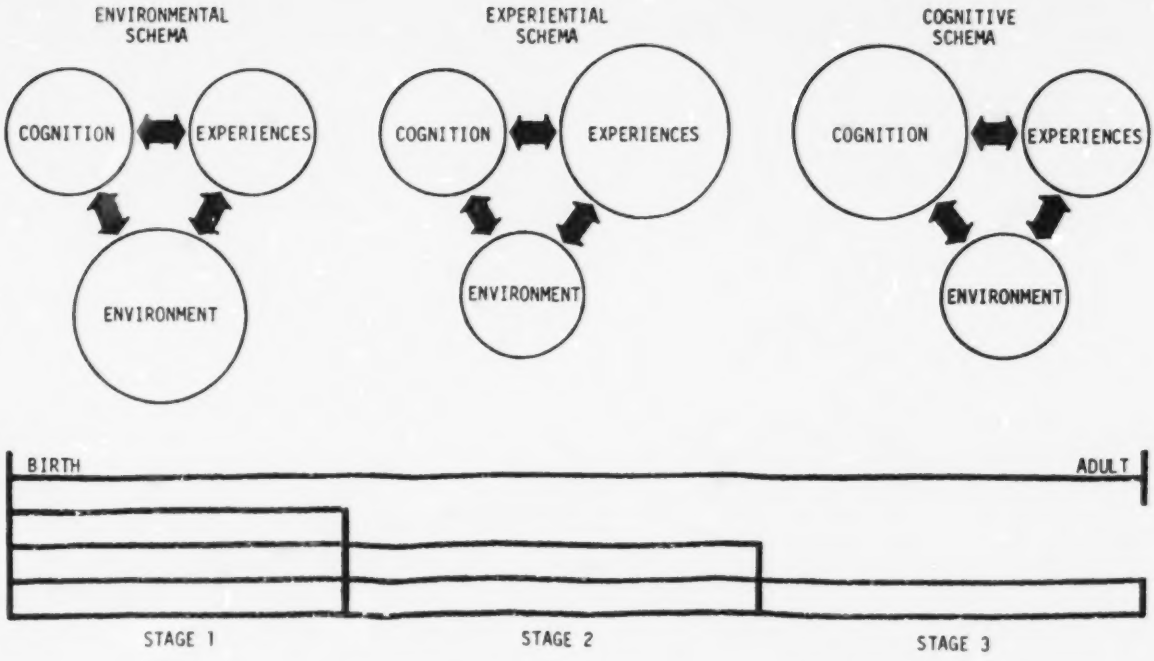


**Figure 1.** *Variations in cognitive, experiential, and environmental elements in ethical development.*

This stage roughly corresponds to the "preconventional" level of moral reasoning described by Kohlberg.

By stage two, behaviors that have been consistently rewarded by the environment are strengthened while those actions that have typically resulted in aversive outcomes are extinguished. For example, as Bobby spends more time in this environment, he may find out that sharing toys with other children yields more positive consequences from both adult authority figures and the peer group than does stealing. Bobby therefore shares his toys and does not steal from others even when no immediate reinforcement or punishment is likely for these behaviors.

Thus, in an attempt to maintain good relations with others, the individual modifies her/his conduct to conform to the norms approved by significant others. Kohlberg describes this stage as the "conventional" level of morality. There is some evidence that this is the stage at which most adults function most of the time (Kurtines & Grief, 1974).

An individual needs to be able to function at stage three only when previously rewarded behaviors (norms, conventions) are insufficient for the individual to determine the appropriate action to take. Functioning at stage three, the individual must make a unique response based upon the individual's personal assessment of the problem and solutions at hand as well as the ethical principles in conflict. This stage corresponds to Kohlberg's "postconventional" level.

If Bobby, for example, is suddenly placed in a different day care situation in which stealing from others is the accepted norm, Bobby would have to determine how best to adjust to these new environmental demands. Bobby could revert to stage one of the developmental model and look to some outside authority for an answer to his dilemma. Bobby could also continue to function as he had learned to function previously (stage two) or he could seek a stage three solution that balances his need for friends with his own personal standards.

Because environmental demands change, an individual capable of functioning at stage three is most able to respond adaptively in a variety of different settings and to cope successfully with changing conditions. It is therefore the goal of ethics instruction to facilitate individual development to the highest level of ethical functioning possible.

## ETHICS INSTRUCTION

### Instructional Format

The format for instruction best suited to ethics instruction is small group discussion. Ideally, groups consist of no fewer than 5 and no more than 15 students. The first step in the instructional sequence is to present an ethical dilemma concerning a content area of interest to students in which one or more ethical principles are in conflict. Schulman and Mekler (1985) have outlined several areas of conflict based upon competing standards and values. Some of these include: doing for oneself versus doing for others; coming to someone else's aid versus personal safety; and obeying authority versus personal standards.

One of the advantages of ethics instruction is that one does not have to look too far to find examples of such conflicts in everyday life experiences. For example, topics of interest to students at the secondary level might include conflict over drug use, sexual behavior, career choices, and peer group pressure. As students become more familiar with the process of discussing ethical prob-

lems, they may want to make suggestions as to what topics should be discussed.

Once presented with the ethical dilemma, students are then asked to generate as many possible solutions (brainstorming) to the conflict as possible. All of the solutions suggested are considered, even when some appear to violate social norms and personal values. The key to effective brainstorming is to delay judgment until all ideas have been expressed. It is helpful for the teacher to write down each idea so that the group can reference and consider each response during and after the brainstorming session. This allows students to use the ideas of others to develop new responses.

The next step is to ask students to select one or more of the potential solutions to evaluate. Students may choose to evaluate a good idea (i.e., one that seems workable) or an idea that may not seem as appropriate as some of the others generated. The teacher then asks the students to list as many individuals and groups as they can think of that will be affected by the first solution. The teacher should encourage students to predict how each will feel about the solution and how the consequences of each possible action might affect more than just the person or persons experiencing the conflict. The teacher then asks the students to evaluate the solution according to the following assessment criteria:

1. Reciprocity — Would you want this choice made if you were someone else affected by the situation?
2. Consistency — Would this choice be appropriate for you to make in other similar situations?
3. Coherence — Would this choice contribute to the overall well-being of the group or organization of which you are a part?
4. Comprehensiveness — Would this choice be appropriate for everyone to make in other similar situations?
5. Adequacy — Would this choice solve the short-term problem?
6. Duration — Would this choice solve the problem over time?

Students are now asked to decide if the solution being evaluated is adequate for solving the dilemma and to justify their answers on the basis of the above criteria. Students then alter or affirm their responses based upon the outcome of the evaluation process. The next step is for students to learn how to take appropriate action to resolve such conflicts.

**Action Steps**

This ethics program maintains that the ability to make ethical choices is a necessary but insufficient condition for ethical conduct. Students must not only know how to discern the right thing to do but also be able to implement their decisions in differing situations and settings. Students therefore also need to be taught:

1. Assertive Behavior: Students need to be able to distinguish between passive, assertive, and aggressive behavior. They also need to become familiar with both their rights as well as their responsibilities to others.
2. Negotiation Strategies: Students need to understand the benefits of "principled" negotiation strategies and how such strategies can help resolve conflicts among individuals with multiple interests.
3. Active Listening: Students need to learn that effective listening is an active behavior, not a passive response. Students can become better

communicators by developing the ability to attend to others and learning how to request clarification if there is information that they don't understand.

4. Risktaking Strategies: Students need to know that risk is unavoidable in life. Rather than trying to eliminate risk, students need to learn how to evaluate the benefits of taking a risk in relationship to the consequences of possible failure.

Following the evaluation of each solution, the teacher asks students to role-play various solutions and to discuss the observed consequences of each solution. Teachers can use this opportunity to identify behavioral deficits in the above four areas and plan remediation activities as needed before students test these skills in real life settings.

### The Role of the Teacher

The role of the teacher during ethics instruction is that of the "most experienced learner." As the most experienced learner, the teacher models and guides students toward the most appropriate learning content and strategies. However, teachers and students function as equals within the context of the learning process. This means that students and teachers share information, insights, and techniques for solving problems.

The teacher models what it means to be a problem solver. Classroom activities are structured by the teacher so that more than one correct answer is possible. Student input is sought in determining what and how learning will take place. In short, teachers and students become partners in the learning process. In order for students to be willing to take the risks necessary to share how and what they really think and feel, the teacher must establish a "safe" classroom climate. The following strategies are suggested.

1. Encourage cooperative rather than competitive activities among students.
2. Insist that each student have an equal opportunity to participate in class discussions and activities.
3. Avoid comparing students or student responses.
4. Insure the confidentiality of all student written assignments that contain personal information about students.
5. Respect each student's right not to share personal information if they feel uncomfortable doing so.
6. Reward students who attempt challenging tasks and fail as well as those who succeed.

### Summary

"A man of bad character, as Aristotle observed, is not likely to be reformed by lectures" (Abelson & Friquegnon, 1987, p. 1). The ethics program described in this paper does not seek to dictate a set of rules to be followed. Instead, ethics instruction is suggested as a means of helping students with learning and emotional problems successfully resolve ethical conflict within self, with others, and with the environment. Students with learning and emotional problems need this type of instruction as much or more than other students if they are to lead independent and productive lives in a world that is increasingly characterized by change and conflict.

## CONCLUSION

During the 1985 school year, an ethics training program based on the model described in this paper was informally field tested with a small group of secondary-aged students who had emotional and learning problems ($N = 45$). The objectives of the field test were to (a) teach students to use a set of objective criteria to evaluate solutions to ethical problems, and (b) teach students how to take action to resolve ethical conflict with others and with their environment. Observational and anecdotal data that were collected during the field test indicated that participating students were able to (a) predict how others might react to specified social situations, (b) assess the relative situational and interpersonal appropriateness of alternative solutions to ethical dilemmas using objective evaluation criteria, and (c) anticipate the types of consequences that would follow a variety of responses to ethical conflict situations.

Teachers who participated ($N = 5$) reported that students seemed eager to express their opinions in class and to discuss problems for which more than one correct answer was appropriate. Teachers related that students often thought of solutions that had not occurred to the teacher. Most of the teachers indicated that they were comfortable with the group discussion format. Although one teacher found her new role as "the most experienced learner" threatening, another teacher reported that she had enjoyed learning something new from her students. Teachers who had initially been resistant to the field test because they thought that ethics instruction would be inappropriate for students with learning and emotional problems reported that their students were able to fully participate in the program. Teachers who felt that ethics instruction was not needed because it was covered in other curriculum areas felt that the ethics program did offer unique experiences and opportunities to the students and that it would be a valuable contribution to any program for students with emotional and learning problems.

Systematic research and evaluation of the model must now be undertaken to determine whether student and teacher competencies are demonstrably learned or enhanced by the model. The process must also assess whether the competencies are equally demonstrated to be maintained and generalized across school, work, and community settings.

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